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Balkan Foreign Ministers Depart Tirana Conference

AU2610202290 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 26 Oct 90

[Text] Lyuben Gotsev, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Adrian Nastase, foreign minister of Romania; Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin, foreign minister of Turkey; and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, who headed the delegations of their states at the meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries which took place in Tirana on 24-25 October 1990, left our country today.

On their departure, the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries were seen off by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Foreign Ministry officials, and other comrades.

The ambassadors of the diplomatic representations of Balkan states accredited to Tirana and the ambassadors of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania accredited to the Balkan capitals were also present.

Timisoara Meeting on Democracy, Human Rights Opens

AU2610192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/20/1990—An international conference on "Democracy and Human Rights" started in Timisoara on Friday. The conference is organized by the Human Rights Committee of the Heinrich Boell Foundation of Germany in cooperation with the Group for Social Dialogue, the University of Timisoara, the "University Solidarity" Society, the "Timisoara" Society, the Student League of the Mechanics Faculty of Timisoara, and with the support of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights.

On the following two days a number of issues will be tackled in connection with that subject, by such sections as: Democracy and Human Rights, Psychiatry and Psychiatric Abuse, Penal Procedure, Law Studies, Police and Secret Service, [and] Minority Condition in a Future Romanian Democratic State.

Zagreb Conference on Privatization, Economy Begins

LD2510163390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—The process of privatization in the Eastern European countries and in Yugoslavia will be long and complex, but the first step towards creating market-oriented economies should be made as soon as possible.

This was noted at the opening of the first conference on privatization and restructuring of the economy in the countries which until recently had centrally-planned economies. The conference is being held in Zagreb, the capital of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia.

Some 200 renowned economists from the United States, Germany, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia agreed that what the socialist countries lacked most was entrepreneurship, a key to profitable investment.

To achieve economic prosperity and surmount the crisis, these countries must create a free market, stabilize their national currencies, and ensure respect of the law, the participants noted.

However, they warned that due to an unfavourable economic structure, the process of privatization in the Eastern European countries and Yugoslavia will also be followed by social and other upheavals.

Poland-FRG-Czechoslovak Ecology Conference Noted

AU2610122090 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA Economy and Law Section in Polish 22 Oct 90 p 2

[Krystyna Forowicz report: "Ecologists Seek a Solution—Does the Energy Sector Have To Pollute the Environment?"]

[Text] The countries of Eastern and Central Europe are heading for an ecological disaster. The emissions of sulfur dioxide produced by coal burning is becoming an acute international problem. Many innocent countries are having to pay the price for this, because their neighbors produce great quantities of this poisonous pollution which is subsequently blown across their borders by prevailing winds.

The most-polluted regions—where sulfur fallout exceeds 1,000 milligrams per square meter—are in northern Czechoslovakia, the Donetsk Basin in the USSR, and the Upper Silesia and Krakow Regions in Poland. Annual losses in Europe caused by acid rain are estimated to be billions of dollars. How to prevent an ecological disaster? This was the question discussed by various government, parliamentary, and environment organization representatives, as well as environment experts from Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland who attended the three day conference entitled "New Energy Policy in Eastern and Central Europe," held in Serock on 19-21 October.

One of the points that everyone agreed on was the project to create an energy conservation center. Such a center would contribute to the protection of the environment and would help to limit harmful emissions from the energy producing sector. At present this is the sole way out for Poland and the other countries that are completely reliant on an energy producing sector that is totally environment-hostile.

The energy-saving potential of our energy producing sector, a sector that is three times as inefficient as in other countries, is therefore great. Some examples readily illustrate this state of affairs. The inability to utilize blast furnace exhaust-heat means that for every unit of production the Katowice Steel Works consumes 30 percent more heat than other steelworks. Losses in the electricity grid network amount to

10 percent. The energy efficiency of our public lighting is approximately 10 times less than elsewhere. The poor state of the municipal hot-water supply networks accounts for another 15 percent of lost heat. Desulfurization of emissions is the second way to cut down pollution of the environment. However, this method is much more expensive and difficult. In reality, only Japan has mastered the problem this way. The FRG has spent $20 billion on the installation of desulfurization equipment. In Poland, the cost of installing similar equipment would total $11 billion. That is the reason why Poland has declined to join the "30 Percent Club" (members of the club are countries that have committed themselves to reducing sulfur dioxide emissions by 30 percent by 1993).

Another way of alleviating the linked problems of energy and pollution would be to use other sources of primary energy and reduce our dependency on coal. But this too poses difficulties. These were the ecological questions that were raised at the Serock conference on protecting the environment from the negative effects produced by a coal-based energy sector.

Deteriorating East European Credit Rating Noted

AU0111140690 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 30 Oct 90 p 18

[Adam Zwass report: "Further Deterioration in Credit Ratings of East European States"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—Twice a year, the International Investor assesses the credit worthiness of 112 countries. The country with the best credit rating gets the credit index of 100. In, particular, the credit ratings of the Eastern European states, whose debts here are above average and amount to 200 billion schillings, are very interesting for Austria.

On the ranking list there is a great distance between the two main debtors of the Danubian republic—the Soviet Union with debts of 48.4 billion schillings and Poland with debts of 48 billion schillings. The Soviet Union occupies the still acceptable 34th place, while Poland ranks 76th.

The third-largest debtor, that is, Hungary (19.5 billion schillings) was assigned 42d place. Czechoslovakia, which owes Austria 13.5 billion schillings, ranks 35th, while Bulgaria, with 13 billion schillings, ranks 52d, and Yugoslavia, with 10.5 billion schillings, ranks 66th.

The Soviet Union dropped back from 24th to 34th place and its credit index decreased by 11.7 percent to 52.5, while Bulgaria, with an index of only 34.7, dropped back from 43d to 52d place. [passage omitted]

The credit rating of Poland, which has so far been unable to reduce its credit burden by 80 percent, as demanded—this level is fixed in business transactions between banks—is still bad. This year its national product will be 20-percent lower than last year, but wages will be raised by 17 percent in the fourth quarter, which seriously endangers the stability program.

In contrast to this, Hungary, whose per-capita debts ($1,800) are approximately 40-percent higher than in Poland, ranks 34 places ahead of Poland. Its unbending will to service its debts has been rewarded. [passage omitted]

Lukanov Accesses Reform in Assembly Address

AU0111153490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1340 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Speech by Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Representatives,

I stand here with a sense of special responsibility, because it is my deep conviction that we are living in a moment which is decisive for the success of the democratic process in Bulgaria and the future of Bulgaria. This is a historic stage. The issue is not only whether we will finally begin to deal with the essence of the economic change, whether the political crisis, in which we find ourselves since the elections, will strengthen or find its solution, or what the immediate prospects of the government are. Governments come and go. The issue in question is the selection we must make, and on which the fate of every Bulgaria citizens and family, and our state in the next few years will depend.

Both before and after World War II Bulgaria has paid, and in some cases, continues to pay dearly for the mistakes and shortsightedness, and in some cases, stupidity, and vanity of its leaders. I hope that we all will not enter history as the people who wasted the Bulgarian people's historical chance to overcome the iron framework which determined their fate and become masters of a free, democratic, and economically prospering state.

I do not want to say in any way that all this is guaranteed by the governmental program. The road is long and the task belongs to all of us. However, the program makes the claim of proposing the first significant steps toward changing the system in certain decisive spheres of public life, and first of all in the sphere of economy. It is my opinion that those steps should have been taken already yesterday. The delay will render meaningless the discussion of whether we are in the midst of a deep crisis or a catastrophe. This is so because if we delay further those steps we inevitably will be faced by an economic and social disaster.

We face the choice of whether to immediately begin the reforms in an atmosphere of national consensus and unity, or to continue the already chronic, paralyzing, and pitiless struggle for power in the name of power, which has already continued for four months. Against the background of this choice, everyone must assume his responsibility in front of the people and the international public.

If we assess the discussion of the governmental program under such conditions, it would be difficult, at least for me, to express a clear opinion. This is so not because contradictory, and occasionally mutually exclusive, opinions were expressed in the discussion. This is normal and positive in a democratic parliament. This is so because sometimes the discussion has nothing to do with its subject matter and the people's expectations and interests.

Simultaneously I must stress with satisfaction that both at the discussions in the committees and in the Assembly some serious and well-founded remarks and recommendations were made. The government wants to express its gratitude for those remarks and recommendations. Many significant things were said during the discussions in the trade unions, the conversations with the employers, and in the mass media. I think that the international consultations, including the talks with the IMF, the consultations with responsible officials of the World Bank, and the meetings with the ambassadors of the basic partner-states from the East and the West, were especially beneficial.

Of course, during the discussion there was a salvo of accusations, name-calling, and sometimes personal insults, which occasionally crossed the boundaries of a parliamentary discussion. I shall not respond to those accusations, or the names I was called, not because of any excessive sensitivity, but because they did not contain any serious arguments, which could serve as grounds for developing an opposite thesis or a productive dispute. With your permission I shall comment only on the significant, well-argumented critical remarks and recommendations. Since I shall mainly speak on the issues of the economic reform and its social aspects, before I enter this sphere I would like to say that many justified remarks were made during the discussion on the chapter of the legal reform, the issue of human rights and the ethnic issue, and the problems of science and culture.

I accept practically without any exceptions those remarks and express readiness to reflect them in the final draft of the governmental program. I would also like to express gratitude to the commissions and their leaderships and the people's representatives, who submitted their opinions and proposals in writing. They will be reviewed and reflected in the program.

Secondly, I would like to talk about the problems included in the program's political part, and the political tasks of the government.

I accept the criticism that the political part should developed and expanded, and that it is incomplete. I share the opinion that the process of the political reforms in our country after the elections was slowed without any justification, despite certain successful steps, such as the agreements on the provisional executive organs and the conduct of municipal elections, and on the depoliticization of some important departments and institutions. This delay becomes a source of tension and a cause of exacerbating political controversy.

The government has clearly outlined functions and a framework of activity. I think that it is impossible to ask the government to solve single-handedly the problems related to political reforms. Without trying to shift some of the government's responsibilities, I would like to stress that this first of all is the responsibility of the political forces, especially those represented in the parliament, the Grand National Assembly, the Presidency and the president, the Court, and the Chief Prosecutor's Office. The government can and should be required to be an active participant in the political transformations, the democratization of life, in creating legal and administrative guarantees, guaranteeing the peaceful and irreversible character of the transition, and so forth. In the framework of this understanding, the government expresses readiness to participate actively and without any reservations in the analysis of the causes and responsibility for the country's present situation, to adopt the self-evident investigation, and to submit to the relevant parliamentary commissions all materials which bear on this matter. The government is prepared to participate actively in resolving the issue of the property of the political parties and public organizations, clarifying the specific personal responsibility for the misfortune, the crisis phenomena, deformations, and crimes committed in our socioeconomic life. The government is prepared to act in a decisive and energetic manner to prevent the abuse of political and administrative posts and positions for personal benefit, and demand responsibility and retribution for damage inflicted on our society, when this was the case. The government is ready to cooperate with the Grand National Assembly, on the basis of its decisions, in removing all privileges, as far as they still exist in our society, and continue the destruction of the totalitarian structure, subjected to the government, wherever they exist, and wherever the remnants of the totalitarianism have not been fully eliminated. I accept this challenge. I repeat, the government will cooperate honestly and without any reservations with the Grand National Assembly, its commissions, the Presidency, and the political forces, in fully closing the page of the past, as our president put it, strengthen the people's confidence in the democratic processes and institutions, and strengthen confidence among the political forces in the Grand National Assembly and outside the Assembly.

Not as a leader of the government, but as a Socialist, I would like to deviate a bit from my presentation, and invoke the issue of my personal attitude toward the issue of responsibility. I, as many others, do not think that responsibility for the past, I mean the last 40 to 45 years, is only personal responsibility. There is personal responsibility and it must be established in accordance with the law, and dealt with in accordance with the law. However, as a Socialist I think that my party is responsible as a party. [applause] It is responsible as a party which was the backbone of a system which proved to be utopian and in many cases retrograde and repressive [applause—sentence as heard], and therefore we must not and cannot avoid our responsibility for,the situation in the country today. However, those who insist that the party assume its responsibility should admit that the present Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], without reaching the final goals of its own change, is not the Bulgarian Communist Party of 1947 or the party which existed on the eve of 10 November 1989. To deny this, to identify the present BSP with the largely Stalinist party of the 1940's and 1950's and the neo-Stalinist party of the subsequent period, is not only subjective and unworthy, but also dangerous [applause], because by doing this, one denies the unquestionable and active participation in the democratization of our country after 10 November, its striving toward a deep change, and its legitimate place in the Grand National Assembly and the country's sociopolitical life.

The total denial and rejection of the BSP and the Socialists not only testifies to insincere democratism, but frankly, it is a phenomenon that is shocking in its fanaticism, and with the presence of the Middle Age thesis of collective guilt, which could lead to fratricidal and tragic events in our country. Thus, I say personal and collective responsibility—yes; illegality and witch-hunt—no! This is my position. [applause] Now, ladies and gentlemen, I can return to my presentation.

I turn to the issue of the economic reform. I think that despite opinions to the contrary, the discussion demonstrated that in anything related to the problems of economic reform, as presented in the program, there are no differences of opinion in principle. The philosophy and basic directions of the reforms have not been rejected. To the calls, "It is not true," I can respond by inviting the callers to personally point out any differences of opinion, because I could not detect even one in the course of the discussion—I repeat: differences in principle. Since some esteemed Assembly members have defined the program as economically defective, and since I have a burning desire to correct the program, I asked some of the colleagues to prepare a list of the defects, but it appears that the list is not ready yet. I would be grateful if you understand the technical difficulties. After all, there seem to be so many defects....

I can tell you that occasionally the esteemed economic experts of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], whom I sincerely respect as real and professional economists, encountered certain difficulties. This is so because, as prior to 10 November, they again were forced to march against their professional conscience, in the service of ad hoc political and ideological tasks [applause], being internally convinced that Bulgaria does not have any other alternative but the one presented in the program. One can only regret the fact that in a democratic environment people again are forced to do what the totalitarian system forces them to do. [applause]

Now let me turn to some specific commentaries related to specific remarks and recommendations.

First, it was said in the discussion that the government and the prime minister are inconsistent in their economic views. An esteemed friend of mine even used the word "pirouettes." I categorically reject this thesis. I think that it is groundless, and I refrain from using a stronger word. This is so because for several months, mainly since March, since I have been prime minister, in my program and my speech presenting it in the Grand

National Assembly, in all my news conferences, in the election campaign speeches, I consistently adhered to the same thesis: market mechanism, market economy, the impossibility to avoid the adaptation and serious difficulties related to the adaptation, and so forth. If my opinions have changed in certain areas, then this is only in connection with the necessity to accelerate and radicalize the changes, something which was caused by the time that was lost, and the circumstance which changed sharply. Without opening a new discussion I must say in response to the question why so little was done, that if we do not adopt a decision now, we shall long ask the question: "Why?" Why are we wasting chances and time. In the meantime we are sinking even deeper.

Second, about the issue of the program's authorship. I did not call this program the Lukanov Program, and I do not approve of this name. This is so not because I shun personal responsibility, but because the discussion about the authorship that develop here in the parliament and outside, is for me a comical affair. It is very difficult to find an original idea in this program and the opinions it contains, as well as in the platforms that were expressed during the election campaign in anything related to the economic reform. All those documents to various degrees strived to present a universal logic—the logic of the market economy. An economist I respect very much said here with his characteristic self-confidence that he knows how the transition to market economy is effected. I am convinced that you all, both those sitting in the left and right parts of the hall, know very well how not to effect a market economy. We know this very well. [applause] Even the Nobel laureate, let alone the assistant professors of economy, do not know how the transition toward market economy can be effected. Thus, we must learn together how to effect the market economy.

Third, critical remarks were made to the effect that the program lacks specific ideas, that the logical connections of the program have not been sufficiently clarified, and that then program is inconsistent.

I accept this criticism and I am prepared to introduce the necessary changes as far as this is possible. I would like to say that we in the government already have a timetable for implementing the first phase of the reforms on the basis of a 10-day period, for the period of 22 October 1990-31 January 1991. We had to change the timetable a bit, because a long period of time elapsed since the program was submitted. It is our assessment that between 90 and 100 days will be necessary for the first period of the program. This timetable contains about 100 specific measures of various character related to launching the reform and implementing stabilizing measures.

Fourth, it was correctly pointed out that the program cannot be reviewed separately from the revised budget for 1990. You have the budget in front of you and can acquaint yourselves with it. What are the new elements in this new draft of the budget?

First of all, we think that if the entire complex of stabilization measures is implemented, it is possible to achieve a balanced budget in the fourth quarter of the year. This can be achieved without decreasing the expenditures for education, science, culture, and health protection, and while increasing the expenditures for social goals.

If we succeed in achieving a balanced budget for the fourth quarter of the year, we shall achieve our first main victory over the growing inflation and will ensure prerequisites for preparing a balanced budget for the next year. This is an exceptionally important goal that I place in the outline of economic goals for the next year. The deficit for 1990, as pointed out in the memorandum of the minister of finance, will be about 4 billion leva if we do nothing, and about 1.6 billion leva if we adopt measures for balancing the economy.

The budget contains several revolutionary steps related to the fourth quarter. They include totally stopping the credits for covering the deficit, taken from the Bulgarian People's Bank; sharply decreasing the subsidies; freezing the investments in the production sphere; stressing social measures within the framework of the country's possibilities; and so forth. I think that all this must be pointed out as a proof of the government's serious intentions to change things in practice.

Decreasing the significant tax burden of the enterprises is another important measure included in the budget. As you know some of our enterprises are excessively taxed. Now we propose a 40-percent tax on all enterprises.

In addition we create conditions for the enterprises to adapt themselves painlessly to the difficult conditions of the transition, increase their ability to meet their social commitments to their workers and employees, and open horizons for alleviating taxation by mobilizing finances through local taxes which will be imposed with the agreement of the population and the local executive organs.

The next issue I would like to invoke, is the vitally important issue of the prices, which excites our society.

The opponents of the government pointed out that the issue of the prices cannot be resolved separately from other important measures, more specifically, separately from measures related to demonopolization, privatization of economy, liberalization of the import and the foreign currency regime, affording the possibility of using the financial resources of the population and the enterprises for purposes other than consumption, bold changes in the sphere of credit policy, interest, and bank policy in general, as well as other measures of anti-inflation character. I fully agree with this thesis and accept it without any reservations. Measures related to prices, adopted outside the aforementioned framework of measures, could really lead toward uncontrollable inflation or probable disaster. We would like to arrange those measures in an order that does not begin with changes in the prices, but with the demonopolization and the continuation of privatization, liberalization of imports, encouragement of competition, and liberalization of prices. I repeat—not a reform of the prices, but a liberalization of prices. A reform of the prices is a concept which dates back to the period of the administrative-command economy. Prices are not reformed, they are formed by the market. At least this is the case in a normal economy.

However, the problem, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, is that at present we are forced, to implement all those measures in a very brief period of time. If, under normal conditions, we could more calmly develop demonopolization, privatization, could work for increasing the supply both through import and increasing local production, and decisively activate the credit and financial levers for limiting the amount of money in circulation, and only then proceed toward changes in the prices, then now we must act in a different manner. [An indistinct remark is heard from the floor; Lukanov responds] Yes, I agree that production must increase, however, for this we need raw materials. We must have something that could be used for increasing production. Do not forget that our country faces a colossal hemorrhage. This is a drop in material resources I myself am not familiar with in the functioning of the European states in the last 45 years. I mean a decrease of between 30 and 35 percent in material resources. In other words we will have a third less for what we used to have for maintaining normal production. The fact that so far the Bulgarian economy produces only 10 to 12-percent less is a miracle, for which I do not credit the government.

Thus, let me return to my basic thesis, we are forced to implement those measures within the framework of a brief period. Unfortunately, the interval between the measures of anti-inflation character and the liberalization of prices, cannot be very long. In addition, we move along a tight rope. On one side there is the danger of hyperinflation, and on the other—the real danger of economic stagnation, caused by the excessively firm anti-inflation measures, especially measures in the area of monetary circulation and fiscal restrictions. Thus, what we must do is exceptionally complex, and I must say that in this area the scope of the difficulties we encounter is large and serious. However, we have no choice and we must do it. We must preserve ourselves from hyperinflation and prevent a drop in production which could kill the patient we want to heal. This is our dilemma and our problem. I present it to you with absolute sincerity and seriousness, and we apparently will often return to this exceptionally difficult dilemma in the course of the reform.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, please allow me to say to you, and all those who are listening to us and see us, that this issue, the issue of prices, cannot be postponed any longer. If we postpone it even for a few weeks or months, we will lead things to a total catastrophe and total disintegration of our market. This will not be in anybody's interest, and certainly not in the interest of the Bulgarian consumers, the Bulgarian citizens.

Let me give you a specific example—the case of the meat products, meat, and milk and dairy products. It is well known that now we pay huge subsidies to the producers and thus subsidize those products' retail prices. Recently Mr. Mollov, assuming one of the heroic poses he likes so much, announced that he will move against the government and will introduce new prices for milk, dairy products, meat, and meat products, sold in private stores. If I disagree in something, then this is his claim of being a hero. Unfortunately for him, the government agrees with him! Thus, he does not move against the government. He is doing something that the government also finds necessary. Furthermore, we think that the prices he introduces are economically justified. Of course, the fact that Mr. Mollov and the people of his union do not pay subsidies or compensate the people for the price increase within the framework of the indexation, which as you know has already been introduced, is another issue. Thus, they only enjoy the advantages of this operation.

However, what was the result? After the Mr. Mollov's announcement, milk and meat enterprises in the country stopped receiving raw material. Sofia is literally threatened in the next few days with a complete halt in the supply of meat, meat products, milk, and dairy products, because the producers, justifiably, do not want to lose money in supplying the enterprises on the basis of the old prices. This is an example of the process that already is taking place in our country, regardless of whether we like it or want it. Prices are rising. Every attempt to stop this process only postpones the price explosion. Therefore, I also think that regardless of your decision on the program as a whole, certain price measures must be adopted very soon, if we really want to avoid dramatic developments, such as comprehensively stopping the supply for Sofia and other measures consumer centers. We think that the price increase until the end of the year, within the framework of the measures we envisage, will amount to a minimum of 35 to 40 percent, but only for the period until the end of the year. In comparison with last year the price increase will be much larger, probably somewhere near 200 percent or even more. How will the government compensate for this inevitable and economically urgent process on a socially just basis? In addition to the compensation within the indexation system, which amounted in September and October to 150 million leva for each month, we envisaged the same amount for November and December. However, the amount will obviously increase on the basis of the price increase index, if this increase surpasses 10 percent. It is already clear that the increase will be much higher. For the time being, on the basis of the budget you have in front of you, 600 million leva plus a certain reserve have been envisaged for those compensations. In addition, we envisage for each of the two months—November and December—an additional direct compensation for increasing the prices of goods and services, including children's goods to the tune of 715 million leva for November and December. Some 328 million leva will be allocated for wage increases, 162 million leva for pensions, 180 million leva for children's allowances, and appropriate amounts for mother on unpaid leave, unemployed, students, and so forth. I repeat, those are monthly amounts for the months of November and December—715 million leva for each month. This amount has been calculated on the basis of the expected price increase for 21 vitally important goods, primarily foodstuffs.

Talking about measures against inflation I would like once more to address the Grand National Assembly with the proposal of unblocking the process of small privatization, namely to abolish our moratorium, perhaps with the exception of the moratorium on the transfer of property along the lines of public organizations and with the exception of the moratorium on land privatization, considering that in the first case we are expecting a National Assembly commission to examine the question of the party's and the public organizations' property, and in the second case we are soon expected to discuss the question of land property. As far as all other cases are concerned, I think that there are no reasons for not rescinding our decision and that there are reasons for reintroducing the privatization of enterprises in the sphere of retail trade, services, hotels, tourist organizations, small and medium enterprises, cooperative enterprises, and others.

I think that the draft law submitted by the government on amending Decree No. 56 aimed at averting the possibility that individuals employed in state institutions, or in state-owned economic organizations should simultaneously engage in private business activities with companies of similar profile, such as Mr. Georgi Spasov described at yesterday's session, should be voted upon as a precondition for abolishing the moratorium. In addition to this I would like to inform the Grand National Assembly of the government's intention of amending Decree No. (?36), at least under certain aspects.

In the first place, this should be accomplished for the purpose of making the auctions more public, more specific, and more transparent, and in the purpose of creating real competition. In the second place, we should try to prevent all opportunities for a group leasing, or privatization of large enterprises, considering that this would result in reviving the outdated command- administrative structures and would not essentially contribute to the development of competition. In the third place, strict requirements should be introduced on disclosing the source of the respective capital, in order to prevent all use of dirty money for privatization, regardless of whom it belongs to. In the fourth place, we should eliminate the instructions which entitle those working in the enterprises and establishments in question to enjoy priority rights in connection with privatization, thus placing the other citizens in a position of disadvantage and diminishing the opportunities for competition. The only preferential treatment which I would support is granting individuals employed in trade establishments and other enterprises in the spheres of retail trade and services who are willing to purchase an enterprise on an individual or collective basis, the opportunity for credit, after they have paid part of the amount, but at a special auction on the basis of the most favorable offer, and to make them repay the rest of the amount from their profits within a certain period. Such preferential treatment would be justified both from the economic and the social point of view, in my opinion.

Hence, I would like to ask you to examine this question with me in the forthcoming days considering that we are unjustifiably delaying the whole process. You expected information from me, and I am ready to provide it. As a matter of fact, I am not submitting the whole documentation to you, but a summary of seven to eight pages. However, if someone should be interested in further information, the government is ready to provide it.

Let me say only a few words about the foreign currency regime.

Numerous appropriate remarks were made in this connection and I think that the government should reexamine the solutions proposed in the program. In doing so the government should adopt certain elements recommended in the Rahn program and in our talks with the experts from the IMF. To put it more precisely, this means that, at this particular stage, we should allow transactions and deals in foreign currency between Bulgarian enterprises and physical persons provided that such transactions take place openly and through some sort of bank. It could be a private, a state-owned, or a mixed bank. In such cases all foreign currency resources of the Bulgarian enterprises should be deposited, naturally with interest, in Bulgarian banks, which should also include amounts currently deposited abroad because of the imperfect foreign currency regime in our country. This is feasible under the conditions that our banks should get actively involved in the development of a currency market through currency transactions among them and with Bulgarian enterprises. This would make it possible, without state interference, to overcome the acute currency shortage to a certain extent, and to encourage savings in foreign currency in Bulgarian banks, and thus to increase the state's opportunities to purchase foreign currency from Bulgarian banks for nationwide needs, and for the needs of the health sector in particular.

Now, I am perfectly aware of the fact that we are facing exceptionally great difficulties in connection with supplying the country with the most elementary medicines, and this problem is frequently discussed by the mass media, which is absolutely justified.

We also intend to boldly liberalize the currency regime for private citizens within the forthcoming days. In this connection we intend to abolish a number of outdated regulations and we will permit every citizen to deposit his savings in foreign currency at favorable interest rates in Bulgarian banks, regardless of the source of this income.

Everyone should be entitled to implement currency transactions through the banks with the currency he owns. In addition to this, we consider it necessary to liberalize the regime so that Bulgarian banks may be entitled to deal with currency transactions, and this should also apply to transactions between banks and private citizens.

Naturally, this is a temporary regulation and the real solution to the problem is the transition to domestic convertibility, but in order to achieve this stage of development as soon as possible, a certain minimum degree of international support is essential, at least. I am talking about financial assistance, of course.

This question was raised in our talks with the IMF, and we hope that these talks will be successfully concluded, which depends on our ability to submit a serious economic reform program. We are confident that we will be able to count on regular credits along the line of the IMF and with an extraordinary [word indistinct] loan in foreign currency which should enable us to accomplish the next, decisive step for the introduction of convertibility.

In the seventh place, I would like to dwell on banking: Considering that our banks, the Bulgarian National Bank in particular, are autonomous institutions, I will not dwell on this question in detail, but I would like to confirm that the Bulgarian National Bank is ready to submit proposals on a new credit and interest policy which is organically merging with the total stabilization program mapped out by the government for the first 90, or 100 days, and I would like to invite the budget and economic commissions to examine the proposals of the National Bank within the forthcoming days, so that the introduction of the respective measures may proceed simultaneously at the same pace, as several parliament speakers justifiably pointed out in this connection.

I would like to apologize for taking your time, but considering that the questions I am submitting to you are vitally important I ask you to be patient.

In the eighth place, I would like to dwell on questions of social policy and on the social protection measures:

We were criticized by the esteemed Dr. Dertliev and by other colleagues about the fact that the program's portion on social affairs is not detailed enough. I accept the criticism. The question is extremely important because the success of the economic reform depends on its correct solution, and this also applies to enduring the hardships of the reform and to political support for it. I would not like to remind you of everything that has been so far accomplished as a preparation for the economic reform, such as minimal wages, the updating of pensions, indexing, amendments to children's allowances, measures for alleviating unemployment, and assistance to the unemployed, and others.

I would just like to point out that we have an entire package of social welfare measures ready, some of which I mentioned in connection with the forthcoming liberalization of prices. We will try to integrate your recommendations in the final version of the program.

In the ninth place, I would like to dwell on the following question: Certain colleagues reprimanded us that the program does not include a portion on resources. It was pointed out that the program's resource backing is not clarified. I do not agree with such statements, I disagree both with their meaning and with their terminology. This is so because such statements attempt to revive our outdated command-administrative economic system. This means that we should not be expected to map out a program reflecting a special, specific economic policy, but to compile a new plan. I would like to tell you, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, that no one is capable of compiling a plan in Bulgaria today, even if we should bring back our old planning magicians. This is so, because we have dismantled this system to a great extent, and in the second and most important place, we have no resources upon which to rely for setting up a plan. Economic planning requires the backing of material resources, above all. The instruments which are available to us today, under the conditions of transition to market economy, are above all the fiscal, taxation, credit, currency, and monetary instruments. This will be primarily reflected in the budget and in the activities of the banks. These are the methods and means which will be available to us from now on and which we can apply in influencing the economic life, the economic development, the economic trends, and the total economic sphere in our country. For this reason, I deeply apologize to the speakers and colleagues who criticized me on this point, but I am really unable to submit an economic plan to you. If you want a plan you should address some of my predecessors and not the future prime ministers.

Our task is to set free the initiative of individuals and enterprises, to free the economy from regulations, to stimulate competition in domestic trade and foreign economic relations, and to apply the financial-monetary instruments for correctly directing and guiding the economy, as I already said. This should be the role of the state.

We were also reprimanded for neglecting the agricultural sphere. I do not think that we have underestimated agriculture. As a matter of fact, we dealt with agricultural problems in several previous programs. It was also pointed out that we have too many programs. However, we devoted long portions to agriculture in those programs and we listed numerous measures, which were adopted and produced numerous results.

Nevertheless, our agriculture is really undergoing a crisis and the method of overcoming this crisis does not consist of writing down specific measures and providing additional subsidies for the solution of individual agricultural problems, but of liberating the entire agricultural sector. This means that we should adopt the new Law on the Land and stimulate private land ownership, regardless of its form—either private farming, or participation of private farmers in cooperative forms of farming, management, and food processing. The most important thing, however, is to free the farmer from selling his products to the urban centers according to non-market prices.

These are the two important measures envisaged in our program. These measures in themselves are sufficient for solving 90 percent of the problems affecting the Bulgarian village and its development as one of the most important levers of our economy and our society.

In this respect, I hope that my colleagues from the two factions of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] will support us.

The state policy should be reduced to a few very simple things: In the first place, it should guarantee a free system of land management and farming, and in the second place, it should provide assistance to the establishment of an infrastructure for purchasing, storing, and processing agricultural goods. The state should direct international credits on a priority basis to this important economic branch, and we should add this request to the program. I consider this omission a shortcoming that should by all means be corrected. We should also provide a solid applied science assistance for the agricultural sector.

The problem of corruption should also be dealt with. This problem was specifically pointed out under its economic, but also under its purely political aspect. I would like to tell you that I consider corruption a great evil. It is a despicable evil under all circumstances, and regardless of the persons involved. Corruption is an even greater evil when it is practiced by people who are carrying my own party's membership cards. I am ready to persecute such people with even greater zeal. This is so because one's own villains are the worst, as a classic author of literature once stated. Considering all this, I beg you to believe me that the government is conducting an exceptionally firm policy of struggle against corruption. This is by no means an attitude directed against a market economy. Every real, normally functioning market economy system is based on extensive legislation, on administrative measures, and institutions for struggle against corruption. This is so because a market economy advocates the free spirit of enterprise and honest business relations, but totally rejects roguery and corruption.

Hence, I am personally convinced that it is correct to raise this question, but it should be examined in its entirety. In combating corruption we should attack all its manifestations and all its exponents.

There was a very interesting remark which for a strange coincidence was addressed both by the left and right corners of parliament, both by my opponents and by my fellow party members—namely the question of the restoration of capitalism, or to put it more precisely, they said that the government program is aimed at the restoration of capitalism in Bulgaria.

As a Socialist, like you Dr. Dertliev, I do not pursue such an ambitious goal. We will be satisfied with creating a normal market economy system in Bulgaria and this way of raising the question is an inadmissible simplification both from the theoretical and practical point of view, in my opinion. If we should strive for something we should strive for the goal of establishing a post-capitalist [as heard], modern society as we call it today. This society is characterized by very extensive social functions. Therefore, I would like to tell my colleague Boris Kyurkchiev, if he will just listens to me, that I am not proposing to settle our economic problems with the help of capitalism, in order to go back to old socialism afterwards. But I am just saying that we should first solve the economic problems, and then discuss the alternatives within the framework of the market economy. This is so, because if we fail to solve our economic difficulties, it will be useless to talk about our own views and about our political and ideological preferences.

Last, but not least, let us talk about the moratorium [on the strike action]. I was sharply criticized on this subject both in and outside parliament. I would like to state in the first place that there is no question of introducing a compulsory moratorium. This is not the government's idea. It is a question of voluntary commitments limited to a certain period. Whether this will be a 300-day period, or a shorter one, is another question. The government proposes 300 days, but is ready to discuss other options. I think that we need 150 days of peace, at least, in order to begin with the reforms. Nevertheless, this is not only a question concerning the government, it also concerns the National Assembly, the trade unions, the employers, and all our society, all our working people. We do not intend to introduce a moratorium on legal mass activities, such as rallies, demonstrations, and meetings. We are primarily talking about strikes, about strikes pursuing an economic objective, let alone strikes based on political motivations. I would categorically like to stress, and this is confirmed by worldwide experience, that such programs cannot be implemented without social peace.

Let us cite one example, namely the threat of strike at the Burgas Petrochemical Plant. What are the demands raised by some of the workers, who are not the majority, only about 3,000 people, at least according to my information. They demand to be granted 40 liters of gasoline for each of them above the limit set for other citizens, and even at lower prices. If we should comply with their request, it means that we should allow the meat processing plants to do the same, the VINPROM employees to drink their own wine, and so forth.

This is an unacceptable demand, as a matter of principle. I am convinced that it was raised with a political objective—namely to block the functioning of the petrochemical plant. The government will not allow this. I ask the workers from the plant who are listening to me at this moment to remember that they are neither entitled to halt the functioning of the plant, nor to stop the deliveries of liquid fuel for the whole country.

We shall oppose such attempts with all means available to us and authorized by the law.

In Varna part of the merchant fleet sailors are demanding the same wages as the amounts paid by Kuwait to our crews during the Iran-Iraq war. It would be wonderful for them to be citizens of Kuwait; actually, it would not be so wonderful to be a citizen of Kuwait today, however, they are Bulgarian citizens. This is a country where the president of the Republic has a salary amounting to 1,800 leva, as you know, which is not as much as heads of state in other countries earn. In our country a minister earns wages amounting to less than 1,000 leva, and the same applies to members of parliament. Being citizens of this country we must take its possibilities in consideration.

I am citing the two examples in order to stress that all kinds of demands may be raised. We may ask for the same wages that people earn in the United States, or Switzerland. Presumably some of our workers collectives would like to earn as much. However, by such demands we cannot achieve anything except further destabilizing our already shaky economy.

There are numerous other characteristic examples. For example, the employees of some tourist hotels in Borovets, Sofia, and other places violently oppose the involvement of foreign management from leading enterprises for their hotels. Why? Because this would prevent them from stealing. The organizers of such strikes are the thieves, and I repeat this before the entire nation.

Naturally, a normal system which involves control and discipline, a system under which one has to work, under which one cannot steal from the clients, is not desirable for such people. Such people are suddenly becoming proletarians and are starting to think about their rights. Perhaps I am talking in a manner which is unusual for a Socialist, but unless we understand all this, unless we start working, unless we introduce discipline in our country, no reforms will help, even God cannot help us.

Therefore I am addressing an appeal from this rostrum to the trade unions, to the workers class, and to all citizens in our country: Let us give a chance to reforms, to everyone's benefit, and especially to the benefit of those are feeding themselves and our entire country.

In stating this, I am coming to the end of my comments on several remarks made by members of parliament. I tried to group them, and last, but not least, I would like to touch upon the subject of the program and its political background which was examined by several speakers in a very interesting manner yesterday.

There is no doubt that a close relation exists between the program and politics in the most general sense of this word. However, I think that this relation was totally reversed in some of your comments. I am not trying to commit anyone in particular, however. I am convinced that the economy and the economic reform, the social protection of people, under the restricted living conditions to which we are subject today, the preservation of the material basis of our nation's existence, the survival of our people throughout the winter season, even if we use this expression in an abstract way, but let us, nevertheless, talk about a tolerable winter season—all these things are the crucial political issues facing Bulgaria today. These questions deserve total political priority. I repeat, I am not committing anybody, Mr. Ludzhev, but I would like to submit the following thesis to your attention.

This is not an underestimation of the sociopolitical questions and of the sociopolitical system. I would like to repeat that unless we solve these economic questions, or at least begin to resolve them on a broad scale, and boldly, then everything else loses its meaning. I am in full agreement that we should act alongside and in parallel with the political issues, but let us not put the most urgent economic problems in second, or third place. They will not forgive me for this, because the whole of international experience shows that in such situations nations have achieved success only if they have ensured unity and public consensus—public consensus on the aims of the reforms, on the sacrifices which have to be made, on the allocation of the burdens, and on the ways of escaping from the crisis situations. It is simply impossible to be otherwise, and I want to emphasize this: It is impossible to say the opposite, and to call white black.

Unfortunately—and here I wish to apologize in advance for the sharp words which I will say—in many cases those obvious truths have been overshadowed by striving toward power. I have the feeling, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, that some of our politicians, and—let me immediately add—those who belong to the younger generation view Bulgaria as a foreign conqueror views a foreign country, which must be defeated in order to be more easily plundered afterward. [applause, cheers, catcalls] I am glad to see your reaction. It means that my words have reached their goal. [chants "BCP, BCP!"]

Finally, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, let me again present my personal position on the program and its future. I would like to say that I assume full personal responsibility for this program, its content, goals, and implementation. However, I have one condition I informed you about at the beginning of our discussion of the program: only if this program receives broad parliamentary and public support, first of all by this parliament and our trade unions. If the parliament denies me a broad support, I categorically repeat that I shall not be able to implement my functions, because I could not agree to engage in plugging leaks in the dike. Time does not wait. The reform must begin!

One of the respected people's representatives said that my position represents a threat and blackmail. I am sorry that this colleague of mine uses, as he often does, his own yardstick in assessing the others. I do not make threats and do not engage in blackmail. I am prepared to leave my post in a dignified manner. Let me say this in front of all people. This is so because my staying in this post is meaningful only if I obtain your support to implement radical reforms in anything related to the activity of the government. Let me repeat, no government can implement such reforms without such a support. Do not deceive yourself! The reform requires social and political stability. The disunity, let me not mention the hatred, and the automatic rejection of prudent thesis, inciting parts of the people against each other, inciting categories of the people, such as workers and leaders, against each other, is the most correct road of foiling the best program.

Second, we need a unity of direction in the nation's actions. Only those who can guarantee this unity of direction could hope for success.

Third, it is absolutely obvious, despite the fact that we pretend that we do not understand, that the international institutions and the international community will help Bulgaria, not the government, if it implements a prudent and realistic program, supported, I repeat, supported by society. The reform implemented in a disunited and polarized country offers no solution, but becomes a source of danger for society. It can become the cause of social and civic clashes, destabilization and in the final account—a threat for the democratic process in our country. In this context, gentlemen, you must understand that each must assume responsibility. There is no time to postpone this act. I appeal to all political forces represented in the parliament to conduct consultations on the issue of what program the Grand National Assembly would like to see, and what government could implement such a program. What conditions must exist for achieving national consensus around such a program. I would ask the political forces in the parliament to express their opinions on this issue if possible before the end of next week, so that we could reach a Grand National Assembly decision on the program, otherwise, I would have to make a personal decision.

I would also like to ask the president of the Republic to provide the necessary assistance within the framework of his powers for holding such serious, in-depth, and responsible consultations.

Furthermore, this discussion has greatly confirmed my convictions that a single-party government is not the best alternative, or, let us say, is not a good alternative for Bulgaria, and that, in order to implement a bold program of reforms, even a parliamentary consensus is not sufficient. Parliamentary consensus must be reflected in the composition and method of action of a government acting as a central, executive organ in the process of reforming society and the economy.

I am convinced, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, that national interests demand the resumption of this method of action.

Mr. Kostov mentioned the requirement of a referendum on the program, or at least that his parliamentary faction would submit this question to a referendum. I do not know how much time would be required for such a measures. As a matter of principle, the idea is interesting, but people should be consulted anyway, because this affects their vital interests.

Therefore, in closing my statement, I would like to address the citizens of our country from this rostrum. I would like to tell them that the restoration of the economy, its fundamental and radical reform determine our common fate, the fate of Bulgaria.

I had the opportunity of stressing that the program is a harsh one, because the circumstances under which we are expected to implement it are harsh. The program demands efforts, labor, and sacrifices. However, this is the only possible method for Bulgaria.

Your support, the support of all citizens in our country is the decisive factor for the implementation of changes. Only this support can help us overcome the humiliating situation in which find ourselves as individuals and as a nation, only this support can help us to realize our own potential and that of the nation, the intellect, the talents, and skills of our people, so that we may stand as equals in the society of civilized, democratic states.

Thank you for your attention.

Protesters Demand Lukanov's Resignation

AU0111192990 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 1 Nov 90

["Lukanov Wants Consultations; Will Resign If Not Backed"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov will resign if his programme gets no support.

Mr. Lukanov moved in parliament today consultations within one week with the major political forces on the type of government that can implement the programme he had suggested.

He asked the president to assist in these consultations.

In a nearly two-hour long speech, the prime minister stressed that the one-party government cannot assume the responsibility for his programme, that a parliamentary consensus is no longer enough.

If no agreement on his programme is not reached, Mr. Lukanov will resign. He had declared this even before the debate on his programme began.

The prime minister called on the Bulgarian people to back him.

Immediately after Mr. Lukanov's speech, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] leader Mr. Aleksandur Lilov read a formal statement in which the Socialist Party declared itself in favour of the formation of a government of national concord which "is solely capable of carrying out the reform." The Socialists' leader emphasized that the president might find a compromise solution. If parliament does not support the reform, there will be a political crisis with unforeseeable consequences, the Socialists believe. If this happens, the BSP will lay the blame on the opposition. "The BSP does not want new elections," Mr. Lilov said. [passage omitted]

Mr. Lukanov was undaunted when the opposition reacted stormily by interrupting his statement and demanding his resignation.

Several thousand protesters encircling the National Assembly building are chanting "Lukanov, Resign!" "Down With the BSP!" "No More Communism!" They are kept at quite a distance by crowd-control ropes and a sparse police cordon.

Beron Replies to BSP Call for Government Support

AU0111201190 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—In his reply to the Socialists' formal statement, the opposition leader Mr. Petur Beron pointed out that the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) did not have Mr. Aleksandur Lilov's advantage of knowing Mr. Lukanov's speech in advance.

The government should be the force that should have the approval of the public, Mr. Petur Beron said, stressing that according to the latest opinion polls the SDS had a higher approval rating than the Socialist Party [BSP]. "If you count on your parliamentary majority, you can support the government's programme but count us out," Mr. Beron observed.

An opposition MP said in the lobbies that it would hardly come to an SDS participation in the government because in consultations the Socialists always want the key ministries, invoking their majority in parliament.

It is still too early to say what will happen, another SDS MP believes. Mr. Lyuben Bozhilov, the spokesman for the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, alone was categorical. "The Socialists command a majority in parliament, they have got a government with a programme which does not have to be voted at the National Assembly, and they must fulfill it," he said. Judging by off-the-record statements, the Social Democrats and the Nikola Petkov Agrarians remain firmly committed to their refusal to enter a coalition with the Communists at this point.

"We must put an end to our long decision-making procedures, what we need is action," said a representative of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) in connection with the forthcoming consultations which put off again the adoption of the programme. He said that the BZNS will take part in the consultations. The BZNS will set forth its formal stand next week.

A representative of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) said the movement supports the consultations proposal. In the lobby the DPS leader Mr. Ahmed Dogan declined to comment on the matter, as is his usual practice.

Martin Gunev Elected New Chief Prosecutor

AU0111210290 Sofia BTA in English 2014 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—This evening parliament elected Mr. Martin Gunev prosecutor general of the Republic almost unanimously by a show of hands.

Mr. Gunev, 62, graduated in law in 1950. He worked his way through the hierarchy of the legal profession: He was a legal adviser, a judge, a deputy district prosecutor, an expert at the Criminological Research Council with the Prosecutor General's Office. Between 1974 and 1990 he was a public prosecutor in charge of the Civil Case Division of the Prosecutor General's Office. Since May 1990 he has been deputy prosecutor general.

Mr. Gunev has been a member of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

In reply to an MP's question this evening, he declared himself in favour of criminal liability for the culprits for the crisis.

Socialist Youth Federation Holds First Congress

AU0111131390 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 Oct 90 p 2

[Nasya Naydenova report on the first session of the Federation of Bulgarian Socialist Youth's Federal Congress: "The King Is Naked"]

[Text] The first session of the Bulgarian Socialist Youth Federation Federal Congress which was held last weekend rallied the future efforts of young Socialists around an interesting ideological thesis which could be summed up in the following terms: The young people are not burdened by the guilt of the past and have the most acute sense of social justice. Therefore we are entitled to be the first in disclosing the shortcomings and negative aspects of society, as a whole, and of our party, in particular, but also those of the opposition, considering that we have the strength of stating: "The King is naked," as it is the case in the world famous fairy tale.

Fidel Kosev (chairman of the federation) described the period which elapsed from the establishment of the federation to this date as a period of "information blackout on everything related to socialism and as a period characterized by a lack of ample opportunities for our activities even within socialist structures." Regret was expressed about the absence of a constructive opposition and about the fact that the vacuum emerging as a result of this absence was filled with incorrect phraseology, such as "mouthpiece of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]," and "The Komsomol is dead, long live the Komsomol!"

The congress adopted a political platform, amendments to the organizational rules of the federation, and general trends of action. The federation will continue to rally young people around the idea of freedom, democracy, justice, and solidarity, by increasingly focusing its activities on the solution of specific (economic and social) youth problems. "Our future should be solely devoted to the efforts of responding to such problems," Tsvetan Bankov, delegate from the Young Socialist's Club in the "Students" Municipality, pointed out. The congress discussed a package of requests and measures for the protection of young people. Among other things the federation intends "to remind the socialist government headed by Andrey Lukanov about the children's allowances promised in the BSP election platform."

As to mutual relations between the two socialist youth organizations, Fidel Kosev declared: "The impression about some kind of confrontation between us might have emerged, but this does not correspond to the truth. We have nothing to gain from confrontation, while our unity of action for which vast opportunities exist, might lead to a possible reunification of our two organizations in the future." Metodi Ivanov (deputy of the Union of Young Socialists), who attended as a guest, stated: "At a national level we get along very well. Perhaps we will merge one day on the basis of the two already existing, well-organized youth organizations."

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council who attended as a guest also addressed the delegates. He pointed out as follows: "We consider you as a totally independent organization which is perfectly capable of examining and resolving its own problems without any interference from the outside. You embody the new ideas of socialism. This is a mean and cruel time. Numerous people are adjusting to the situation. It is a difficult time for the socialist idea. Only those who really believe in it will remain loyal and struggle for it. " Fidel Kosev was reelected chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Youth Federation despite the competition of other candidates.

Peasant Youth Organization Established 27 Oct

AU0111130590 Sofia MLADEZH in Bulgarian 29 Oct 90 p 2

[Branislava Bobanats report: "The Union of Peasant Youth Does Not Intend to be a May-Fly"]

[Text] Whether the emerging food supply crisis will increase the Bulgarian peasants' prestige, whether it will change the young generation's approach to agricultural labor, to the land, and the rural areas, whether it will "clean up" the image of rural life from the negative accumulations of the past—this question cannot be categorically answered as yet, it is too early for it. Nevertheless, such are the ambitious goals of the newly created Union of Peasant Youth which was established last Saturday, 27 October 1990.

A united, independent, and non-political organization of young people who decided to link their fate with the Bulgarian village, trying to preserve and revive its life, and striving for real changes in our rural areas and in the agricultural sector—this is how the basic aspects of the new union could be described and this is how they were mapped out at the constituent conference. The participants in the conference were representatives from 18 towns and villages—agricultural equipment operators, specialists, economists, scientific workers, teachers, and librarians.... Some of them are already backed by youth groups with several hundreds of members who support the idea of establishing their own union. Why?

According to the initiators, the establishment of the union is not a goal in and of in itself, but it is expedient and topical from the point of view of the current realities in our society. One of the arguments in favor of the union is that none of the existing youth and other social organizations, political parties, and trade unions guarantees the protection of the social and economic interests of young people who are living, or working in the rural areas. The Union of Peasant Youth intends to fill this vacuum in the protection of the most underprivileged class of young people and to contribute to stimulating the private and other economic initiatives of young people in the villages, trying to assist them in using their own biological potential to benefit society.

The participants in the conference voiced their protest against the persistent policy of robbing the rural areas of their economic and intellectual values. The program declaration which was adopted also states that in implementing their goals the members of the union are resolved to oppose any policy whatsoever which is in contradiction with the interests of the rural areas.

The conference adopted provisional organizational rules and elected an interim leadership of the Peasant Youth Union chaired by Valentina Uzunova. The provisional leadership is expected to remain in office until the national conference of the new organization which is scheduled to take place in mid-January 1991.

Private Meat Shops To Open; Prices To Be Higher

AU0111122490 Sofia BTA in English 1152 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—The first five private shops selling meat, sausages, milk and dairy produce will open in Sofia next week. The idea has been suggested by the Union of Citizens Economic Enterprise (Private Business Union). By the end of the year there will be private shops of this kind in all cities in the country.

The products will be sold at free prices and will be three times more expensive than those offered at state-run shops. A kilogram of pork will cost 13.90 leva; its price now is 5.40 leva. A kilogram of ham, which is sold for 8.00 leva at the state-run shops but nobody has seen it for months, will be 22.20 leva. According to Private Business Union Chairman Valentin Mollov a sociological survey has shown that "people prefer expensive but sure supply to cheap-price deficit". [as received]

The shops will be supplied by private stockbreeders at good prices. Nikola Spasov, director general of Rodopa, the present monopolist in the production and trade in meat and sausages, has promised to lease immediately 25 small sausages-making enterprises to the Private Business Union. Mr. Spasov has denied the rumor that the warehouses of Rodopa were crowded with meat in anticipation of the new prices, but he did not deny that the liberalization of prices is forthcoming. The low purchase prices of meat have made producers abstain from selling it to the state, but on the other hand they have problems with the forage.

In the opinion of Valentin Tsekov, minister of trade and services, the now existing prices can stimulate neither production, nor trade. According to him almost all shops will be soon privatized.

U.S. Expert Ends Talks on Communications Accord

AU0111212890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The leadership of the Committee on Communications and Information has ended two days of talks with Warren Clark, an adviser in the U.S. State Department and a specialist on communications and information policy, during which the way toward bilateral cooperation was outlined.

Bulgarian communications can count on technical and investment support from the United States, especially after the granting to Bulgaria of most-favored-nation status. This will become more possible after the problems have been solved in connection with the convertibility of the Bulgarian lev and the passing of legislation guaranteeing the investments and interests of foreign firms and companies in Bulgaria.

EC Phare Program Experts To Study Communications

AU0111181290 Sofia BTA in English 1446 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA)—Within the framework of the Phare programme a team of experts of the European Community headed by Mr. Maurice Long from Great Britain will work for four weeks in Bulgaria. The team includes experts from Denmark, Germany, Ireland and Italy.

The mission of the team is to study the situation of communications and the communication industry in the country and the prospects for their development. The legislative and institutional changes necessary for their functioning in the conditions of a transition to market economy will be considered. The concrete projects worked out by the Committee of Communications and Informatics for the technological infrastructural improvement of communications and the communication industry will be analysed.

Greece's Mitsotakis Receives Chairman Todorov

AU0111200990 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Nov (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, prime minister of Greece, today received Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, who is paying a working visit here.

They discussed the key aspects in the development of Bulgaro-Greek relations. The Greek head of government said that he himself and his party have always considered Bulgaria as one of the stabilizing factors in the Balkans. Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis stressed his desire for closest cooperation with the president of Bulgaria, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and with Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, in the best interests of pursuing the good-neighbour contacts between Greece and Bulgaria.

On behalf of the Bulgarian head of government, Academician Todorov formally invited the prime minister of Greece to visit Bulgaria at his convenience. Mr. Mitsotakis thankfully accepted the invitation. He expressed a desire to pay the visit at an early date so that he can specify with the Bulgarian leaders the forms of closer cooperation between the two friendly countries in all areas.

Call for New Greek Border Crossing at Kurdzhali

AU0111193190 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Kurdzhali, 1 Nov (BTA)—A sign-in campaign for the opening of a new border checkpoint and a customs post at the Bulgaro-Greek border in the area of the Makaza mountain pass began in Kurdzhali, southeastern Bulgaria, today. It will be submitted to the Grand National Assembly and to the Council of Ministers.

The petition stresses that the towns of Xanthe, Komotene and Kavalla are merely 70 km from Kurdzhali across the border and that the central town of the Rhodopes has been maintaining friendly relations since the beginning of the year and is expanding the commercial, economic and tourist ties.

Over 2,000 signatures were collected on the first day alone.

Hepatitis Cases Decline, Cholera Restrictions End

AU0211085390 Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—The Ministry of Health has worked out a special program for healthcare in the condition of the autumn and winter crisis. A reserve of medicines and of medical consumable supplies will be set up to use in critical situations. In the restructuring of the health service, the inefficient or non-essential health care establishments will be closed down.

The Council of Ministers decree whereby private trips and the import of foods and beverages from Romania were restricted in order to prevent the spread of cholera from that country has been repealed.

There is a suggestion that the Government Commission for the Prevention of Epidemics, Infectious Diseases and Food Poisoning should retain its functions as a permanently operating body with the Council of Ministers.

The incidence of infectious hepatitis in Bulgaria is declining. The number of cases remains large only in the areas of Varna, Veliko Turnovo and Khaskovo.

A commission of experts of the Midipharma State Company has distributed the free aid from Greece among the health care establishments depending on their needs.

The secretary general of the SOS Kinderdorf International Organization will start implementing a six-month emergency aid project for one thousand most needy children in Bulgaria. Foods and staple medical consumables will be made available to orphanages and abandoned children's institutions.

Portuguese Delegation Offers Administrative Aid

AU0211085290 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)—Mr G.M. Nunes Liberto, Portugal's secretary of state for local administration and regional planning, who leads a delegation of construction company executives on a visit here, told the press that his country is ready to help Bulgaria in local self-government and in the interaction between the various levels of administration. The guests conferred with top government officials and with the Grand National Assembly Standing Committee on Administrative and Territorial Settlement Organization.

Last night a communique was signed on the results of the talks.

It has been agreed to organize a seminar in Sofia in January at which Portuguese experts will share their experience and information with Bulgarian local government officials. A Bulgarian delegation will visit Portugal to study on the spot regional decentralization and the functioning of the technical offices for administrative services. Construction companies of the two countries will seek opportunities for cooperation in construction in third countries with joint entry in auctions, joint investment and the establishment of joint ventures.

Slavkov Declaration Underlines Statehood

AU0111152390 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Oct 90 pp 1,2

[Declaration adopted following the meeting involving senior political representatives at Slavkov Castle on 28 October: "A Declaration on the Establishment of the Republic"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak Republic was established 72 years ago from the joint will of the Czech and Slovak nations. Despite several shortcomings—in particular, the little attention paid to the nations' need for autonomy and for its constitutional definition—the republic became the joint, democratic, and prosperous home of Czechs and Slovaks, a home which was brutally broken up during World War II. The year 1918 was not just the end of centuries of national thralldom for Slovaks, but—first and foremost—it was the turning point which signified national salvation. For Czechs, the newly established state meant the culmination of their endeavor for democratic Czech statehood.

The communist regime did not bring democracy and well-being to our nations; it did not even fulfill their justified national demands. The 1968 law on the Czechoslovak Federation was an attempted step in the right direction, but its implementation and further development were thwarted by the renewal of centralist totalitarian authority.

November 1989 cleared our nations' path toward freedom and democracy as well as toward fully establishing a real federation. After a period of more than 50 years, we again have a chance to build a free, democratic, and equal home for Czechs and Slovaks and for all the nationalities living on our state's territory. However, November also cleared a path for those who would like to abuse our arduously won freedom for their own personal or particular ends and would like to disseminate intolerance, hatred, and nationalism. We are citizens of a joint state, and as citizens we bear the responsibility for its democratic and humane development.

We are not only together because the world sees us as one state incorporated into the world community by a number of important treaties and covenants.

We are together, first and foremost, because each of our nations has plenty of reasons for feeling weaker if it were on its own. This is particularly important in the Central European region which, for whole periods of its history, was the scene of various foreign interests and political instability.

We are linked by the continuity of historical decisions which include not only this state's establishment, but also our resolve to defend the republic in 1938, the defiant uprising in 1944 oriented toward the renewal of the joint state, and our common hope in 1968. The parallel democratic revolutions in both republics in November 1989 have now been added to this historical association.

However, we are also together because our common fate, culture, and family ties link us to each other.

We are together because our coexistence may multiply our joint economic potential. We have recently been conducting an intensive search for the optimum economic ties and for a new and better division of jurisdiction within the framework of the federation.

We confirm the strength of our will to preserve and further develop the federative arrangement of the joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. We have come together in Slavkov, a historic place in Moravia. The citizens of Moravia and Silesia must gain an honorable status which will respect their traditions within the framework of the joint state we are striving for.

We will energetically confront all attempts to disrupt our state's integrity and sovereignty. We will resolutely confront all attempts to violate the constitutional nature and fundamental laws of this country. In as short a period as possible we want to create a new constitution which would reflect not only the new shape of the federation of autonomous nations, but which would also guarantee the same rights and obligations for all our state's citizens regardless of their nationality, race, religious conviction, or political persuasion. Until that time, it is essential to adhere to the principles of a law governed state and to respect the valid laws and Constitution. The first step toward the new constitution will be the adoption of a Constitutional Document on Human Rights and Liberties as our state's fundamental constitutional document. We appeal to the Federal Assembly to take this step as quickly as possible. With satisfaction we make note of the fact that intensive work is being carried out concurrently on the constitutions for the republics and the federation, work which will create our constitutional framework. We will do everything to ensure that our state is incorporated as quickly as possible into the European and world community as a state of two equal nations.

We appeal to all citizens to support us on this path. Let no one allow himself to be confused by demagogues and political adventurers who would gladly alter the balance of our struggle for a democratic and prosperous state open to all. Let everyone respect the Constitution, the laws of the state, and the laws of the federation. Let us protect, preserve, and develop the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic!

CSFR President Vaclav Havel

CSFR Premier Marian Calfa

Czech Premier Petr Pithart

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar

Federal Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky

Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement

Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the Civic Forum

Fedor Gal, chairman of the Public Against Violence movement.

Commentary Warns Against Dissolution Consequences

AU0211093890 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 29 Oct 90 p 2

[Ondrej Neff commentary: "A Formidable Warning"]

[Text] We should be happy that this year we are able to mark the anniversary of the founding of the Republic in an atmosphere of liberty. Unfortunately, our happiness is spoiled by the fact that this very liberty has provided an opening for events organized by political forces in Slovakia which do not in the least deserve its renewal.

Czech national representatives are currently being criticized for not formulating Czech policy with sufficient distinctness, while their Slovak partners are—in this regard—incomparably more agile. The results and course of yesterday's talks in Slavkov will probably support this criticism. This time, Slovak Premier Meciar has—indisputably—caught the Czech public's attention by his energetic eloquence. Slovak First Deputy Premier Jan Carnogursky preferred to attend the ceremonial opening of a Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] building in Komarno than to attend the talks with the president of the Republic, the federal premier, and the premiers of both national republics. This is also an obvious statement about the program or, to say the least, about his priorities. It simply seems that Slovaks stand up for "their interests" better than Czechs; more specifically, it seems that Slovaks have a more energetic team captain than we do.

However, it is enough to read through without emotion the statements made by both premiers in order to understand how false this impression is.

Vladimir Meciar has retreated so far against the wall in his argumentation that he has hardly any room left. He states that the issue of "the creation of the Slovak Republic's statehood" is one of the "fundamental political issues on which it is possible to win popularity and power." Are we meant to understand by this that whoever supports "the creation of the Slovak Republic's statehood" has an easier path toward popularity and power in Slovakia at the moment? Why does Mr. Meciar not follow this path? Because "in Europe they want us to be together." Mr. Meciar has announced that not Prague, but the wicked Europeans are standing in the way of Slovaks' happiness. You do not have to be a Slovak nationalist to ask the following question: "What if "in Europe" they do not want "us to be together," what if they do not care? Europe will survive Slovakia's possible independence; we can be sure of that.

Petr Pithart does not scrutinize European opinion in his point of view. He simply suggests that both sides come to an agreement and if they cannot, he suggests they wait a while. If anyone would like to see Czech policy, he can see it right here. It is essential to agree. The time factor plays its own role in each agreement.

Is it essential to agree? I think it is. The purpose of our two-nation state has remained the same after 72 years. That is, two Slavic nations joined together in order to confront the pressure of pre-1918 Hungarian and German influence. What is the alternative to this union and what would the consequences of dissolution be? Probably the following: A prosperous, but nationally humble, economic protectorate of Bohmen und Mahren [preceding words in German] for us and the factual reconstruction of Upper Hungary beyond the River Morava. I see this formidable warning lying behind the high flown words of the Slavkov Declaration which accentuates, among other things, the necessity of protecting and developing Czechoslovak statehood.

Privatization Bill for Large Companies Approved

LD0111193990 Prague CTK in English 1702 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—The cabinet approved today a government bill on "big privatisation" under which large state-owned enterprises in Czechoslovakia are to be sold to private and corporate hands, both domestic and foreign.

This is to be the second main step in the privatisation in the country, a priority in the economic reform which is to turn the country's plan-regulated economy into a market system.

A law on "small privatisation" in which small businesses are to go to private hands was approved by the parliament a week ago.

Within three months after the law on the privatisation of large enterprises comes into effect the federal and the Czech and Slovak Governments will work out the principles of the methods. After this the central authorities will submit the lists of enterprises eligible for privatisation. Each enterprise concerned is to prepare the blueprint for its privatisation and debate it with the trade unions.

In the first stage the enterprises will be turned into corporations which will then be sold on the basis of contracts or in public auctions. In the transitional period they are to be controlled by national wealth boards, which are to be set up.

An untested method is to be the use of special coupons to which each Czechoslovak citizen would be entitled at the price of 2,000 crowns and with which he would register for a share in an enterprise or sell it at a public auction. The bill provides for 40 to 80 per cent of the shares to be offered for sale for the coupons by the enterprises concerned.

Bank Chairman Outlines Convertibility Measures

AU0111105590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Oct 90 pp 1, 16

["(MS)"-signed report: "Steps Toward the Convertibility of the Koruna"]

[Text] If a legal person comes into a commercial bank with Czechoslovak korunas and asks to pay for his imports with them, the bank has to meet this obligation. As of 1 January 1991, the possibility of purchasing foreign currency for 5,000 korunas applies to physical persons. That is the essence of the internal convertibility of the koruna as explained in a very simplified manner by Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky at yesterday's news conference held in the Office of the CSFR Government Presidium.

While the news conference was being held, the government session was still continuing and the draft foreign currency law, the course and measures toward the introduction of the internal convertibility of the koruna, and the operation of a foreign currency market were three of the measures which had so far been dealt with. As the chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank also informed the journalists, there has been a breakthrough in the enterprises' obligation to offer all of its hard currency to the bank. Organizations can even keep their existing foreign currency accounts after 1 January 1991 (as we have already reported in our newspaper), but the Czechoslovak State Bank has to give them permission for this. At the moment, it is merely determining the principles for liquidating small foreign currency accounts. However, citizens must not worry because the foreign currency accounts of physical persons will remain untouched. The state bank will also give permission for all other transfers from oversees, that is, so-called capital transfers which are not directly associated with the movement of goods across borders.

At yesterday's session the opportunities for foreigners with hard currency were also discussed; for example, their opportunities for purchasing property in our country. The majority of government members concurred in the view that permission should not be granted for this type of sale. J. Tosovsky also stated that if, following the devaluation of the koruna, the Czechoslovak State Bank were to adhere to its existing monetary objectives, then, these would become unrealistic because they are too restrictive. Therefore, they have been amended on the basis of a reevaluation of credit possibilities. Commercial banks will utilize this and shortly before the end of the year they will be able to provide more credit.

Defense Minister Comments on Coming Army Changes

LD0111002190 Prague Television Service in Czech 2110 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky paid a visit today to the command of the Western Military District in Tabor for the first time since taking up office. He met commanders and staff of the district, and also visited a motor-rifle regiment in Benesov. At a meeting with officers and commanders, he put forward his ideas on restructuring the Army, which had been a repressive component of the totalitarian system, into a fully functioning army of a democratic state.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] One of the many questions pending in the Army is personnel changes. You have said that there will be no purges, but it will be necessary to part company with some officers, and if you want to rebuild the Army, this should happen as soon as possible. Do you expect rapid changes in the top Army posts?

[Dobrovsky] I expect very rapid changes in the top Army posts. In fact I have already drawn up a document for the government; it has probably already been submitted there. There are going to be changes in the deputy ministers, some deputy ministers are going to be recalled, one new deputy minister is going to be appointed.

There will also be some further changes for the purpose which I have already spoken about several times. We will have to define the principle of our personnel work as a principle based on evaluation of the individual, which will also include their ethical background, the ethical motivation for their actions and, above all, a high level of professional ability. These are the changes, these are the criteria.

I have stopped the process of appraisal reports so that I can be briefed on the findings. I have already conferred with some deputies in the defense and security committee, and I will continue to confer with them, and I hope that they will accede to my request—my proposal to set up a group of deputies to review the appraisal report findings in the case of senior Army officials which they will select. I do not think we have anything to hide in the Army; on the contrary we need to open up this whole problem, to let the public see inside through the intermediary of the deputies. [end recording]

'No Potential Enemy' in New Defense Doctrine

LD3110160690 Prague CTK in English 1433 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 31 (CTK)—Deputy Defence Minister Antonin Rasek, commenting on the conceiving of a new Czechoslovak defence doctrine, told journalists here today that Czechoslovakia has no potential enemy.

He added that it is necessary to station Czechoslovak troops on the country's territory more evenly. Regional commands in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia are expected to be created while the air-force and the anti-aircraft defence will remain in charge of the federal command.

Rasek also briefed journalists on the results of the October public opinion poll focused on Army issues. Out of 716 respondents only 67 per cent support the necessity of preserving the Army. Only 25 per cent of the persons polled do not consider the Army's existence necessary. The next question dealt with the Army's future shape: More than 25 per cent consider a half-professional Army adequate, 20 per cent consider a fully professional one and about 20 per cent the Army in its current shape. Fifty-four per cent of the persons polled trust the Army, some 30 per cent of the respondents do not trust it and do not support it. According to 38 per cent of the respondents, the compulsory military service should last 12 months (against the present 18 months). A total of 34 percent of the respondents support a six-month service.

Rasek went on to say that only 18 per cent of the people polled fear a possible endangerment of Czechoslovakia. A total of 78 per cent of the respondents do not fear it. Fears of a military attack are much more sparse than before.

Journalists were also told that the Italian defence minister is to visit Czechoslovakia on November 4 to 6, 1990.

Communist Daily To Become 'Independent' Company

AU3110163790 Prague CTK in English 1249 GMT 30 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 30 (CTK)—The editorial board of the Communist Party daily RUDE PRAVO has decided that the paper should not belong only to the party but should be issued by an independent joint-stock company, today's RUDE PRAVO reports.

Members of the editorial board were elected at a party extraordinary congress in December 1989.

The paper claims that its daily run is about 500,000 copies, on Saturdays even 700,000 (before the defeat of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia its number of copies exceeded 1 million). It should not be oriented only on the Communist Party but "address the whole society from the left positions" and continue to give space "to a dialogue of communists and all left forces and express alternative attitudes to the development of society from left positions."

The editorial board has been striving to cooperate with the paper's editors in overcoming the grave heritage of lies, half-truths and complimenting the pre-November leadership (before the 1989 revolution) of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which resulted in a loss of credibility and social respect of RUDE PRAVO, the daily said.

Havel Expresses Concern About World Standing

AU3110183790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Petr Vana report: "Keeping a Cool Head"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—"We are currently undergoing perhaps the greatest test in our state's constitutional existence as a single legal entity.... I have a feeling that the test will turn out well in the end, but it is a serious test," said President Vaclav Havel in the Czech National Council on Thursday [25 October] in reference to topical developments in Czech-Slovak relations.

He spoke at length about the negative impact of this situation on Czechoslovakia's international standing and of the possible grave consequences of our republic's eventual dissolution into two states. V. Havel stated that he is preparing to make an important address on Czech-Slovak relations which will be shown on television on 28 October. It will depend on developments—on how the Slovak National Council debate on the language law turns out and on the results of the meeting in Moravia on Sunday [28 October] morning involving all three premiers, the chairmen of the three coalition partners—the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, and the Civic Forum [OF]—and the president. "It will also depend on developments surrounding the new draft jurisdiction law which Premier Meciar brought with him to Prague on Monday [22 October] and which surprised his colleagues."

"Czechoslovakia's credit is falling by leaps and bounds," he stated further. International organizations, governments, and entrepreneurs are waiting to see how everything will turn out. If the republic were to split into two states, a complicated international legal situation would arise. According to V. Havel, the entire problem has come to a head recently. "A tangle which could destabilize the European situation.... We would complicate the future European arrangement."

The president warned that "it is necessary to keep a cool head." The Czech National Council should make the maximum effort to understand Slovakia's specific problem. A lack of understanding in Bohemia is the source for the continuing nationalistic passions in Slovakia and disparagement provokes public opinion in the republic. "But where there is reason and logic on our side or on your side, people will not succumb to pressure, protests, and demonstrations. In the Slovak Republic there are people who abuse the most base human instincts. Many people do not know what the language law is about. However, the public lives in the supposition that it involves the existence or the nonexistence of the Slovak nation. This is a dangerous business organized by the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] and the Slovak National Party." In conclusion, he again appealed for sensitivity and understanding.

The president spoke at a meeting of the Czech National Council Committee for Social Policy and Health Care. This was the first time he had visited a committee in any of the three parliaments. He gave a briefing on the New York summit where he signed a declaration protecting children's rights.

Czech National Council Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova stated that the national councils' points of view concerning the "rights document" had become closer. This document should be adopted before 17 November so that the Federal Assembly can adopt it before 10 December—Human Rights Day. It should contain human and civil rights as well as cultural, social, economic, and ethnic minorities' rights.

Rehabilitation Law Restores Courts' Status

AU0111103390 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Oct 90 p 2

["(ST)"-signed report: "The Status and Tasks of Judicial Authority"]

[Text] The restructuring of the judiciary, which took place in the Czech Republic during the second quarter of the year, has contributed toward our justice system's clean escutcheon. Seven chairmen and 17 deputy chairmen have been recalled from regional courts and 51 chairman and more than 30 of their deputies have been recalled from district courts. In total, this involves 60 percent of the senior positions in our justice system. These were some of the facts made public by Czech Republic Justice Minister Leon Richter at yesterday's aktiv involving Czech judicial staff.

The aktiv, in which other government and departmental officials participated, discussed the current situation in and the topical tasks of the justice system with the aim of restoring the courts' status and prestige and of constructing an independent and unbiased judiciary. It was also clear from the discussion that, during the three months since the enforcement of the law on judicial rehabilitation, more than 44,000 people have been rehabilitated. The determining factor for the current period is the rehabilitation of those persecuted in the 1950's and the creation of conditions to enable the procedure to take place quickly and smoothly.

The comprehensive changes in ownership relations and the development of enterprise and trade under the conditions of a market economy have significantly activated judicial activity associated with land and enterprise registers. Increasing the personnel in these workplaces and utilizing computer technology is the only way out of the current unfavorable situation. The new judicial authority results from the newly adopted laws which renew not only the democratic principles of political life, but also create a framework for the market economy. So far, this authority depends upon 18 new legal norms; others are being intensively prepared. We have already reported on the commercial justice system. An administrative justice system is also on the agenda. It seems expedient to implement this on one level and to entrust its execution to municipal courts. The introduction of a constitutional system is being considered on a federal level. Whether to also expand this system to the republics will be considered with the adoption of a new constitution.

Agrarian Council Appeals to Deputies on Land Bill

LD0111224190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The bill on land rights is considered by the Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian Agrarian Council as an attempt to impede economic reform in the countryside. Giving its standpoint, it states that the aim of the bill is to preserve the existing state-owned and collectivized nature of agricultural production and thus maintain the superior status of self-appointed state and cooperative administrators of other people's property. The Agrarian Council, which is a free association of democratic parties and movements, has asked the appropriate authorities who actually drew up the bill what their politics are, because it is clear that the bill does not put into practice the Civic Forum's election manifesto for agriculture.

The council has appealed to deputies not to allow this bill to be adopted, which it describes as another move to trample the rights of owners under foot.

Left Alternative, Revival Protest OF Expulsion

LD0111224690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Representatives of the coordinating group of the Left Alternative [Leva Alternativa] and the executive committee of Revival [Obroda] have discussed the statement by the Civic Forum [OF] Council that it no longer considers them as part of that movement. The coordinating group of the Left Alternative and of the executive committee of Revival is asking the OF Council to present to the public evidence that by their standpoints or attitudes they have abandoned OF's political line. It considers the council's action as illegitimate, undemocratic and an outrage against the cofounders of OF and the coformulators of its fundamental ideas.

The Left Alternative and Revival stress that they still feel part of OF, which they understand in the same way as it was understood in June by the majority of its voters, in other words, as the broadest platform of democratic politics.

Interior Ministry No Longer Controls Police

LD0111193190 Prague CTK in English 1721 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—The police in the Czech Republic will no longer be controlled by the Czech

Interior Ministry, but by a police director as from today, Czech Interior Minister Tomas Hradilek decided.

He set up the chief command of the police to be headed by Major Frantisek Zelenicky, former deputy chief of the main police administration of the Czech Interior Ministry which was at the same time abolished. The ministry will now only administer the police, but not control it.

Minister Hradilek told CTK that this change together with the reinforcement of the police by 2,225 members of the border guard in the Czech Republic as from today will not yet be sufficient to decrease criminality which has dramatically gone up over the past months. The numerical strength of the police will still be inadquate and policemen will have to be requalified to meet present demands placed on them.

Havel Holds Closed-Door Talks in Slovakia

LD3110215690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Excerpts] CSFR President Vaclav Havel continued the second day of his official visit to Slovakia. In the morning he took part in the gala session of the Scientific Council of the Commenius University in Bratislava. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, the president arrived at Bratislava Castle. His agenda was full. Individual items became delayed. Therefore, the meeting with the representatives of the Syndicate of Journalists, Directors, and Editors in Chief ended only 45 minutes ago.

President Vaclav Havel received the representatives of the Hungarian Independent Initiative, representatives of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and Egyuetteles [Coexistence], and representatives of the Green Party. The talks were held behind closed doors, without the presence of journalists.

After their completion, reporter Alica Bielikova asked the president: Mr. President, I suppose that you have breathed in sufficiently the atmosphere in Slovakia. You have even spoken to hunger strikers and the representatives of some parties and movements. What do you think about all this?

Havel replied: I think that everything will end well. I have a good feeling. I have a feeling after those crisis-ridden moments which Slovakia and, in particular, Bratislava have gone through, that democracy is starting to win, so to speak.

There was no time for a longer interview because a meeting with senior workers of the press, radio, and television followed. It was also a closed-door meeting. [passage omitted]

SNS Committee Dissociates Itself From Rally

AU3110163990 Prague CTK in English 1225 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 29 (CTK)—The executive committee of the Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Committee issued a statement at its session here today in which it dissociates itself from a rally which will be held in the center of the city today.

The party executive committee discussed the situation which emerged after the adoption by the Slovak National Council (parliament) of one of the versions of the law on Slovak as the official language on the whole territory of Slovakia. The SNS wants to prevent the aggravation of social tension and its misuse by some individuals and groups, the statement said.

Current Situation in Slovakia Reported

AU0211095790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Oct 90 p 1

["chk"-signed report: "Politically Vacillating Slovakia; Nationalist Explosion Averted For Now"]

[Text] When in the late evening on Thursday [25 October] Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko announced that the coalition bill had been accepted by a majority vote, the enraged crowd, which had filled the square in front of the Slovak parliament since the morning, burst out in a roar of disagreement.

Slovak National Council deputies for the Slovak National Party [SNS] demonstratively left the assembly hall and the Slovak National Council building. Anton Hrnko, one of the best known and most active among them, of whom it is rumored that he is in the SNS only to provide a certain internal opposition, did not feel much like being a party to this pretentious gesture. However, Vitezoslav Moric, Federal Assembly deputy for the SNS, who, instead of performing his parliamentary duties in Prague, spent Thursday night in Bratislava, by repeated appeals also added A. Hrnko to the handful of his faithful followers. The demonstration in front of the Slovak National Council building was largely spontaneous. It is, however, difficult to ascertain to what degree, since the crowd of thousands was from the very morning influenced by the repeated appearances of V. Moric, as the main director, but also by other speakers as, for instance, Jozef Markus, Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation] chairman, who was at first greeted from a distance like a bed-ridden patient. Jozef Markus, however, chose national patriotism over curing his flu and contributed substantially to the atmosphere of the demonstration. The situation was so explosive that one could not leave the Slovak National Council building, which was surrounded by demonstrators, without a certain risk. The demonstrations here continued also on Friday. Jozef Markus, Vitezoslav Moric, and other extreme nationalist movement officials demand that the Slovak National Council also discuss the so-called Matica bill on the Slovak language, which is, after the coalition bill has been passed, absolutely irrelevant. The nationalists realize that, and therefore, they concurrently ask for a dissolution of the Slovak National Council and of the Slovak Republic Government, and for the calling of new elections. Although these are unrealistic demands, their repetition certainly does not contribute to peace. Then again, the nationalists and separatists do not need peace and therefore they instigate further and further demonstrations, strikes, and hunger strikes. The [scant] participation of people indicates that their efforts are not received favorably by what we hope is the majority.

One can be certain, however, that the polarization of views in the Slovakia of the 1990s does not equal that of the 1930s and 1940s. Undoubtedly, the extreme forces headed by V. Moric are well aware of this as they try to drown any sober rational stands in nationalist passions. The current situation is also a demonstration of how important it is for the Slovak Government leadership to be strong. Thus, the Slovak Government already reacted on Thursday with flexible moves in the form of extraordinary situation measures. Future developments in Slovakia will be tested by the authority and popularity of V. Meciar, who did not hesitate to refer to the brownish hue of some political forces increasing the present social tension and unrest. Such a view of the extreme developments at certain moments can also be encountered among the people. At the end of last and the beginning of this week a broader nationalist explosion seemed to have been averted. The extremists, however, will not give up their escalation strategy easily. Therefore, one can expect that Slovakia, which is to some degree politically vacillating, will need time to return to a completely peaceful atmosphere.

Meciar Thanks Motica Slovenska for Support

LD3110164190 Prague CTK in English 1415 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 31 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar thanked Ludovit Haraksim for his support to the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government in its effort at a positive settlement of the situation after the October 25 approval of the law on Slovak as the official language in Slovakia.

In a letter to the deputy chairman of the committee of Matica Slovenska, a historical Slovak cultural institution, who resigned his post in disagreement with its activity, Meciar said he was sure that Haraksim's step would not be understood by the group of separatist extremists. In a dispute over the language law, Matica Slovenska and the Slovak National Party back a proposal which aims at an exclusive position of Slovak which means that minorities, Hungarians in particular, are discriminated against.

* * *

Thirty-five Slovaks continue their hunger strike outside the Slovak National Council (parliament) building, which started on October 25 in protest against the approval of the law on Slovak drafted by the coalition government (Public Against Violence [VPN], Christian Democratic [KDH] Movement, Democratic Party). They favour the Matica Slovenska version. The state of health of these people is serious. Each day they are joined by other Slovaks. Originally there were 42.

Editor of the PLUS 7 magazine Pavol Jurecka went on an "eating strike" on the opposite side of the Slovak parliament building this morning in protest against this inhuman kind of protest, which a hunger strike in his opinion is.

Slovak National Council on Local Administration

AU0111112990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 27 Oct pp 1, 2

[Alena Melicharkova and Magdalena Sedlackova report: "Another Law on the Agenda on the Second Day of the Slovak National Council Session; the Decision on Monday"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—After the deputies discussed and approved the Slovak National Council Law on Term of Office for Local Self-Administration Bodies (it will be four years) from Thursday to Friday night, they returned to the local administration with the Slovak National Council Draft Law on the Organization of the Local State Administration.

At the outset of yesterday's session of the Slovak National Council one could feel the impact of the preceding day. Deputy Premier Vladimir Ondrus announced that he was supposed to meet with the Azerbaijan prime minister and foreign industrialists representatives on trade of goods. The partners, however, called off the meeting. The reason given is the instability in the Slovak Republic. He appealed to all Slovak National Council deputies to act responsibly for the sake of the future of Slovakia and asked citizens of the Slovak Republic to ponder who really protects the interests of the Slovak nation and of all Slovak citizens. He pointed out that their actions will decide whether Slovakia will be a trustworthy country or a territory tossed in the whirlwind of nationalist passions held in hands of irresponsible politicians with all the social and economic consequences.

The parliament then began to discuss the Slovak National Council Bill on Local State Administration. The bill, which follows up the already adopted Law on Local Structure, forms a two-plier system of local state administration separate from the local self-administration. The system consists of circuit and district offices. As mentioned by Slovak Republic Interior Minister Anton Andras, the state administration conducted by these offices will be regulated and controlled by the government of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The most involved debate arose during the discussion of the manner of appointment to the posts of the district offices chairmen.

It began with the contribution by A. Andras, particularly with his announcement that the Slovak Republic Ministry of the Interior proposes that the district offices chairmen be named by the government on the basis of the coalition roundtable talks. Anton Hrnko (for the Slovak National Party), and after him representatives of most opposition parties, objected to the selection of chairmanship candidates on the basis of their party affiliation. The increasingly heated discussion between the deputies and the ministers was interrupted by an adjournment of the seventh session of the Slovak National Council until Monday.

Slovak Interior Minister 'Will Remain in Office'

LD0111163990 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bratislava, Nov 1 (CTK)—Slovak Interior Minister Anton Andras will remain in office until his case is examined by the Presidium of the Slovak National Council (parliament) at its session scheduled for November 7, 1990, CTK was told here today.

In connection with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's decision to take over the security section of the Slovak Ministry of the Interior, Meciar's press secretary Martin Hric and Chairman of the Military-Security Committee of the Slovak National Council Frantisek Javorsky told CTK that the situation in Slovakia was really grave and was influenced mainly by the political struggle concerning the language law, tense relations between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches, between Gypsies and the rest of the population, and several external and others factors. Acording to the Slovak Government's assessment of the Interior Ministry's work Andras is responsible for its considerable shortcomings. The Slovak Government, the Military-Security Committee of the Slovak National Council and its Presidium are the only competent bodies to evaluate the interior minister's work, Hric said.

Javorsky added that Andras together with his deputies has so far managed to resolve without conflicts every critical situation following the debates over a draft law enacting Slovak as the official language.

Asked whether Andras was fired from his post Hric answered in the negative. He added that Andras's possible dismissal or remaining in office is fully in the powers of the Presidium of the Slovak National Council. The security section will be run by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and First Deputy Premier of the Slovak Republic Jan Carnogursky until the issue is settled.

Javorsky added that all members of the government coalition are interested in resolving of the issue.

Slovak Nationalists Demand Moric's Resignation

AU0111193390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Oct 90 p 2

[CTK and "(PA)"-signed report]

[Text] Yesterday's session of the Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Council Executive Committee distanced itself from the meeting on Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava.

Anton Hrnko, an SNS deputy in the Slovak National Council, announced on yesterday's "Czechoslovak Television Journal" program that members of the SNS leadership have repeatedly appealed to Vitazoslav Moric to resign from his post as party chairman.

Slovak Premier Accused of Threatening Federation

AU3110204190 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Oct 90 p 1

[Libor Sevcik commentary: "Skidding"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] What our federation has had to endure from its Slovak side in the last few days is beginning to worry me, to put it mildly. Whenever something reasonable is being born [possible allusion to the language law passed by the Slovak parliament on 25 October], a hullabaloo is raised in Slovakia. We will apparently have to become accustomed to the fact that people like [Slovak National Party Chairman] Moric, too, are part of democracy. But I do not envy the Czech or federal officials for their dealings with their Slovak colleagues. And I am starting to have doubts about the credibility of [Slovak] Premier Meciar, whose gratifying drive may conceal his profound insecurity and anxiety about his own fate. Rather than propping up the federation, the initiatives with which he is constantly coming up are more of a threat to it. The introduction of ever new insecurities onto the political stage, which is naturally very attentively observed by would-be foreign investors, guarantees that interest in our country will evaporate. The Balkanization of Czechoslovakia may satisfy nationalists but, in its consequences, it will naturally harm them. Harping on this chord at a time when we should concentrate mainly on the economy is not only wrong but generally dangerous. Instead of the search for allies, it generates the need for an enemy. If there is none, one only has to shout long enough until someone responds, someone who can then be blamed for one's own mistakes, errors, and deficiencies. [passage omitted]

Slovakia Said To Obstruct Environmental Laws

AU0111111590 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 27 Oct 90 p 3

[I. Knezinkova report: "Rendering of Accounts"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [At his meeting with representatives of ecological movements in Prague on 22

October] Minister Josef Vavrousek, chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment, said that, only an hour before the meeting started, the negotiations on the law on air protection, which was to be submitted to the Federal Government on 25 October, had foundered on disputes over jurisdiction.

"Why were the negotiations not successful?," the participants in the meeting inquired.

"The Slovak side casts doubt on the principle that norms in the sphere of air protection—which we tried to harmonize with EC legislative norms—ought to be subject to federal regulations," J. Vavrousek replied. "The republics could then make these norms even stricter, if they consider it important. The Slovak colleagues want to issue them themselves, however."

The participants in the meeting also learned from the minister what is going on at the building site of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros Danube dam.

According to J. Vavrousek, the "concrete" lobby is doing what it wants there.... Building activities that have been banned merrily continue. And the Slovak Government does not wish the Federal Committee for the Environment to interfere in this matter. [passage omitted]

56 Parties To Run in Slovak Elections

LD3111212290 Prague CTK in English 2035 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 31 (CTK)—Fifty-six political parties and movements will run in the local elections in the Slovak Republic, the eastern part of Czechoslovakia, November 23-24, Chairman of the Election Commission Roman Vavrik said today.

They have formed 135 different coalitions in the constituencies, he said. Vavrik said that 68 constituencies did not have a nominee for mayor, more than 20 have no candidates for the municipal council. Between November 6-14, representatives of the commission would visit the constituencies to help solve whatever problems may exist before the communal elections.

Twelve parties are registered for the elections in the Czech Republic, the larger of the two constituent parts.

U.S. Statement 'Warning' to Slovak Nationalists

AU3110211890 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Oct 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Rational Thinking Is Needed; A Signal From Washington Not Only for the Slovak Government and Parliament"]

[Text] The latest surveys of public opinion indicate that, if the ultimatum of the nationalist opposition were complied with and new elections to the Slovak National Council were held, the Slovak National Party [SNS] would receive 30 percent of the vote. According to some other estimates, the percentage could be even higher than that. Impartial observers agree, however, that under no circumstances would deputies for the SNS gain a position in the Slovak parliament that would allow this party to form the government.

The demand that the Slovak National Council be dissolved cannot be based just on street demonstrations in Bratislava and some other acts in support of the so-called "Matica" [Slovak National Heritage Foundation] bill for the enactment of Slovak as the official language [in Slovakia]. Citizens' reactions to the exacerbated domestic political situation are not unequivocal. In some regions—in East Slovakia, for example—the public dissociates itself vigorously from the acts of nationalists in Bratislava and the majority of the population continues to trust Meciar's government. Public opinion surveys have even registered a certain growth in sympathetic feelings for the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, though this is more a consequence of the conflict within the government coalition in connection with the premier's objections to the person of the minister of interior [than an expression of support for the VPN's line on the language issue].

The aforementioned conflict has weakened the positions of the government in its confrontation with the pressure of the opposition seeking the annulment of the law on the official language. For this reason, the voters of the political movements making up the government coalition expect their leading representatives to find a dignified way of eliminating the obstacles to further productive cooperation between the VPN and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] within the coalition. Hopes are being pinned on KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky, whose balanced personality and political culture provide a guarantee that rational thinking and Christian tolerance will prevail over categorical obstinacy.

As far as the approved language law is concerned, nowhere is it written that it will be a definite solution to the problems in southern Slovakia if citizens, regardless of their nationality, do not respect it. The activists of the Slovak National Heritage Foundation in this region, in particular, could play the role of some sort of a "language police" that would guard the rights of Slovaks wherever they find themselves in the position of the minority. Should acts of discrimination take place, the state avails itself of sufficient means for corrective action. It would then be possible to enshrine in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic being drafted those provisions, in which the "Matica" version of the language law differs from the compromise version of the law approved by parliament.

Nationalist politicians engrossed in themselves should take note that the democratic world attentively follows events in Slovakia. It was not by coincidence that the U.S. State Department publicly presented the U.S. Administration's position in support of the rights of "all citizens of the Czechoslovak state." Its accentuation of "international commitments concerning human rights" is a sufficiently clear warning to all those who call into question, by means of the so-called meetings democracy, the legitimate institutions of the democratic state. The signal from Washington is at the same time an encouragement for the Slovak Government and parliament not to give in to the pressure of intransigent nationalists and separatists.

Delegation Fails To Explain Hungarian Cancellation

LD0211103290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The three-day visit to Hungary by the Slovak National Council and the Slovak Government delegation, which was due to commence today, was cancelled by the Slovak side. Neither the reason for this step nor the date for the next visit have been set yet.

Hungarian Ambassador on Minorities in CSFR

AU3110122390 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with Gyorgy Varga, newly appointed Hungarian ambassador in Prague, by Janos Desi in Budapest; date not given: "Subconscious Fear From Hungarian Revisionism"; first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Text] We talked about Slovakia and Slovak-Hungarian relations with Gyorgy Varga, but we did that in Budapest a few days before he traveled to his post as Hungarian ambassador in Prague.

I Cannot Represent the Hungarians in Slovakia

[Desi] Hungary is frequently accused of nationalism and chauvinism in Slovakia, as well as of allegedly preparing for a border revision.

[Varga] It is the primary interest of Hungarian policy to have peace in this area; therefore, I regard every such suspicion as totally unfounded from the viewpoint of realities—albeit, not illogical from a historical viewpoint.

[Desi] Some Slovak nationalist parties think the worst of Hungary.

[Varga] I think it becomes almost boring to continue repeating that Hungary has no revisionist intentions. Subconscious fears are present in the Slovak policy—namely, that "the Hungarians want to occupy us and annex our territory." These are old cultural history reflexes, rather than political ones; reflexes which no Hungarian policy can really neutralize.

[Desi] The deputy chairman of the Slovak National Party said that they wanted to secede from the Czechlands, but the Czechs had warned them that if they did this the Hungarians would occupy Slovakia.

[Varga] Naturally, this is ridiculous. An article published by a historian in LIDOVE NOVINY, a newspaper I consider to be the best Czech paper, says that if Slovakia secedes from the Czechlands, the valid borders will be those that emerged following the second Vienna Dictate. This is nonsense because the Paris peace treaty again drew the CSFR borders, and, if the two states want to live separately, they also inherit the borders.

[Desi] You are the Hungarian ambassador in Prague, but you must also represent Hungarian interests in Slovakia. However, there are quite considerable differences between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

[Varga] There is a Hungarian Consulate in Bratislava, and a general consul accredited to the Slovak Government represents the Hungarian interests there. The problem is that Slovakia can be seen better from Budapest than from Prague. For the central government in Prague, the problems of Hungarians in Slovakia seem quite exotic. In other words, it is possible that less information about the Hungarian minorities in Slovakia has reached Prague than Budapest. This is a problem even if I do not represent this minority. I can only have a coordinating role in national minority matters between the two countries. My task is to have good relations with everyone, irrespective of his party affiliation, and to know exactly what happens in the country.

Against Alarming Rumors

[Desi] However, the public expects our diplomats in the CSFR to care for the Hungarian minority there, even if our diplomats cannot represent these Hungarians.

[Varga] It is a fact that the fate of Hungarians living in the CSFR greatly determines our relations with this country, just like with the other neighboring countries. Therefore, our diplomats are primarily requested to provide genuine information, because neither side is interested in spreading alarming rumors. Naturally, the Hungarian Government can feel moral and cultural responsibility for the Hungarians living beyond our borders. The Hungarian Government can support these minorities in preserving their identity if they require this help and if the government of the country in question "tolerates" this. Besides, Hungarians are living elsewhere, too, not only in Slovakia. About 40,000 Hungarians are living in the Czechlands. I am convinced that it is our moral obligation to help these deported people to preserve their Hungarian national character. However, we must comply with their wishes. Nothing should be forced upon them. We must never forget that, inevitably, people who are members of a minority always have a different identity, compared with that of the mother country's inhabitants, because the minorities are surrounded by a different reality, starting from simple things like different traffic signs and up to listening to the Slovak language every day. Our politicians cannot precisely evaluate the way the Hungarians in Slovakia feel and think. Therefore, it is extremely important that the representatives of this minority always tell us what they want.

[Desi] This is even more difficult to know because the Hungarians in Slovakia are far from being united. There are various parties and organizations representing the most different views.

[Varga] This is very good. Earlier, one could see a trend in Hungarian policy which favored certain organizations, to the detriment of other organizations. Fortunately, this trend is slowly disappearing. It is natural when people who are ideologically close to each other also sympathize with each other. It is a positive thing when parties representing a similar ideology support each other. However, Hungarian foreign policy should refrain from favoring any Hungarian party in Slovakia. Nor would I regard it as fortunate if the various organizations had only ideological contacts. We would welcome a situation in which various organizations have a broad area of contacts.

Does the Government Give in to Nationalism?

[Desi] By the time this interview is published, the Slovak parliament will have repeatedly dealt with some versions of the so-called language bill. This issue is also interesting because a certain Slovak-Hungarian confrontation is very noticeable in the debate on the use of an official language.

[Varga] The Matica Slovenska version of the language bill, which would practically allow the use of the Hungarian language only among Hungarian families, is unacceptable not only for the Hungarians, but also for the Slovak democrats. My Slovak friends told me that the adoption of the Matica proposal was out of the question. At the same time, a demonstration of almost 100,000 people was held in favor of the Matica proposal on 5 October. The demonstration had a discernible anti-Hungarian and antiminority tone. Such a crowd of 100,000 people represents serious political pressure on the parliament. So far, one can see that the official Slovak policy seems compelled to give in to the increasing nationalism prevailing in the country. The increasing social tensions will only strengthen these trends. Besides, a discriminatory language bill would contradict the valid CSFR Constitution.

[Desi] Conflicts between Hungary and the CSFR will be expected not only as a result of this bill but also as a result of the Bos-Nagymaros affair.

[Varga] I do not regard the Bos-Nagymaros issue as something as difficult to solve as the national minority issue. No doubt, the national minority issue is one of the most difficult burdens inherited from the old regime. However, we will solve it somehow. The important thing is that, for the time being, this issue should be dropped from the political agenda and we should refrain from making an issue of prestige out of this problem. Experts should examine the possible alternatives, and then the politicians can come and deal with the issue again.

Protest Handed to Iraq Over Citizens' Detention

LD0111181790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Martin Palous, deputy minister and press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received in Prague today Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutlaq, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq in Czechoslovakia, and handed him a protest note against unjustified detention of our citizens in Iraq.

The note emphasizes that the Czechoslovak citizens have valid Czechoslovak travel documents with Iraqi exit visas and, therefore the behavior of the Iraqi side contravenes international law.

Czechoslovakia expects that the Iraqi authorities will cease such actions in the future, and emphatically demands that Iraq make it possible for all our citizens detained against their will to leave immediately for their homeland.

Deputy Foreign Minister Dismisses Gulf Deployment

LD0111233190 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Studio interview with Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Martin Palous, by unidentified announcer; place not given—live; Palous responds in Czech]

[Text] The conclusion of most observers is virtually identical—the Persian Gulf crisis may escalate into war at any time. We welcome to the studio Dr. Martin Palous, deputy minister of Foreign Affairs. Good evening.

[Palous] Good evening.

[Announcer] Mr. Deputy, is the threat of war really so serious?

[Palous] Well, the reports you mentioned give rise to apprehensions, but, naturally, one cannot say as yet what will happen.

[Announcer] Do you think that there is a chance for a diplomatic solution?

[Palous] Well, Czechoslovakia has always advocated diplomatic solutions to such conflicts. We believe that such a possibility still exists.

[Announcer] Mr. Deputy, our people are still being held in Iraq. How many of them? Reports from Iraq are somewhat contradictory.

[Palous] As far as we know, there are 56 of our citizens in Iraq at present. Out of this, if I subtract embassy employees there are 40 citizens who would like to leave and cannot get exit visas.

[Announcer] That means that they are hostages.

[Palous] I would not phrase it this way. Czechoslovakia is not viewed as an enemy by Iraq as yet, so they are merely de facto hostages, but formally they are still citizens of a foreign third country.

[Announcer] Is the reason for holding our citizens altogether clear?

[Palous] That is difficult to say. The Iraqi regime rarely expresses itself quite clearly. Nevertheless, our employees in Baghdad have learned the viewpoint that the delay is connected with our intention to send a military unit to the area of conflict.

[Announcer] Are we really going to send it in this situation?

[Palous] Well, so far, no definitive decision has arrived; this must come from the Saudi side. Still, we are prepared to send the unit. But I want to stress that the unit we intend to send to the area is simply a chemical unit which consists of 179 men, three antichemical echelons, one field hospital, and a guard unit. It is, thus, a target unit, a unit which cannot be used in any military operation. It is a unit which, in fact, will be ready to help victims of possible chemical attack.

[Announcer] In this connection, how do you view the chances of our people returning to Czechoslovakia?

[Palous] Well, we believe that our effort to get our people from Iraq will succeed in the end. We had the ambassador of Iraq at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today. We presented to him a protest note in which we demanded that Iraq immediately allow our detained citizens to return home.

[Announcer] By when? What deadline did you ask for?

[Palous] We did not say immediately. The ambassador of Iraq said we can assume that during next week he will convey the viewpoint of Baghdad.

[Announcer] Besides having presented the protest note, what steps has your ministry undertaken?

[Palous] Basically, we have been undertaking steps from the very beginning of the conflict. There is a crisis staff at the ministry which permanently studies the matter. On Monday, I think, our new ambassador arrived in Baghdad. He was sent there in order to be able to represent on the spot the immediate interests of Czechoslovak citizens.

[Announcer] Immediate conflict is threatening. Do you think you will have enough time to get them home?

[Palous] Well, our possibilities of getting our citizens from Iraq are somewhat limited. We can take certain diplomatic actions, which we are constantly doing. Being optimists, we believe our activity will be successful in the end, and that the CSFR citizens will return home.

[Announcer] Thank you.

Union Rejects Sudeten German Demands on Havel

LD0111101990 Prague CTK in English 0850 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—The Czech Union of Freedom Fighters today rejected as injustified the demands of former Sudeten Germans, moved from Czechoslovakia to Germany after World War II, for their rights to a homeland, self-determination and property to be settled.

The union, associating World War II fighters and former concentration camp inmates, said in its statement that the "damage caused to our fellow-citizens by Nazi violence, in which then Sudeten Germans took part to the full extent and in important posts, have not been redressed." Therefore, the demands raised by the Sudeten German landsmannschaft, in a letter to President Vaclav Havel, are quite unjustified, the union said, and warned against any support these demands, which undermine efforts at understanding in Europe, at building a common European home and establishing relations of confidence, friendship and cooperation.

The union said the transfer of Sudeten Germans in 1945 was a historical necessity, confirmed by the Potsdam Accord as a consequence of their treatment of the Czechs, adding that in no case does it intend to excuse the excesses which took place during the transfer. (Altogether 2.4 million Sudeten Germans were moved from Czechoslovakia after World War II.)

The union said it favoured cooperation with Germany and friendship between Czechs and Germans but was not forgetting the suffering and tremendous damage inflicted by the Nazi occupation.

Dienstbier Greets FRG's Genscher on Arrival

LD0211122490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived in Prague before noon for a working visit of several hours.

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Jiri Dienstbier, deputy federal premier and minister of foreign affairs, who returned from this trip to Asia an hour before Genscher's arrival.

From the airport, Hans-Dietrich Genscher departed for the FRG Embassy. Today, he will have a working lunch with President Vaclav Havel and will hold talks with Jiri Dienstbier. This will be followed by a joint news conference of the two ministers. The German guest will also greet Prague Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek and Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek.

Two More Joint FRG Border Posts Open 1 Nov

LD0111115190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Today [1 November], two more Czechoslovakia-FRG border crossings are open to vehicles in Cheb District.

The Svaty Kriz-Waldsassen crossing will be open nonstop, and citizens from other countries will be able to use it, too. Motorcycles and cars can now use the crossing, but when the customs office is completed there next year the crossing will be open to all bus transport and some truck transport as well.

The As-Selb crossing will be open from 0900 to 2100 for motorcycles, cars, and regional bus services. Nonstop opening of the crossing is planned from June of next year.

Dienstbier Discusses Results of Asian Tour

LD0111210290 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] New Delhi Nov 1 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Diensbier told CTK here today that the four Asian countries he visited are greatly interested in cooperation with Czechoslovakia which they regard as a country economically strong and having a highly qualified workforce.

Dienstbier, also Czechoslovak deputy premier, toured Japan, the Republic of Korea, Thailand and India from October 23 to November 1 as the first high-ranking government official from a country of Eastern and Central Europe to visit that part of the wordl since the revolutionary changes in the former socialist community took place last year. He told CTK that the main reason why the Asian countries still hesitate to enter Central and Eastern Europe is whether a return of the former communist regimes is really ruled out. In this connection Minister Dienstbier said that the return of Stalinism is no longer possible in the Soviet Union either.

He said that Czechoslovakia places great emphasis on relations with the countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa because firstly, there exist possibilities for cooperation and secondly, it does not wish that the bipolar conflict between East and West now being overcome be turned into lasting conflict between North and South.

Naturally, Asian countries seek, in addition to political, also formal guarantees of business in Eastern and Central European countries, e.g. legislation on support and protection of investments, free transfer of profits, etc., Dienstbier said.

He said that in South Korea he signed a trade and an air transport agreement. In the three other countries agreements are being prepared. An agreement with India should be signed at the beginning of next year.

The minister stressed that the success of cooperation depends mainly on the ability of Czechoslovak enterprises to adapt their production programs to the demands of the market. Thailand, for instance, is interested in 5,000 lorries having the steering wheel on the right side while Czechoslovak lorries have the wheel on the left side.

Havel Meets Council of Europe Official

AU3110164090 Prague CTK in English 2141 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and main political correspondent of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Jacques Baumel exchanged views here today on Czechoslovakia's participation in various activities of the Council of Europe and on the role of this organization in shaping new European architecture.

They stated that in Czechoslovakia, which now has a guest status of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, prerequisites are being created for admitting this country as a full member of the Council of Europe next year.

Slovak Premier, Parliament President Cancel Visit

LD0111214990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] I have just received a fresh report from MTI. It says that, according to the information of the MTI correspondent, the visit to Hungary of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and President of the Slovak Parliament Frantisek Miklosko, planned for Friday, will not take place.

According to the plans, the MTI correspondent should have been received by Frantisek Miklosko, president of the Slovak National Council, late on Thursday night for an interview; however, the interview did not take place. Incidentally, a reporter from Hungarian radio was also in Bratislava with the MTI correspondent.

At the Miklosko's secretariat, the Hungarian reporters were told that there is no point in holding the interview because the visit, to which it would have referred, is not going to take place. In connection with this, it was merely said that the visit will not come about because of important political reasons.

Ministry Shows 'Understanding'

LD0211124190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] The visit to Hungary of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and Slovak Parliamentary Chairman Frantisek Miklosko will not take place because of the complex internal political situation in Slovakia.

The Budapest Foreign Ministry received the announcement with understanding, and the communique released in connection with this emphasises that, hopefully, after the internal political problems in Slovakia are settled, the visit will take place as soon as possible. Our country has an interest in fostering relations with the neighboring countries, the statement of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry emphasizes.

Trade Official on Ruble Payment for Soviet Oil

LD0111182990 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Janos Martonyi, administrative state secretary of international economic relations, unambiguously denied that in December Hungary would receive Soviet oil for dollars only.

Martonyi told journalists on Thursday that, according to his information, the Soviet Union would deliver 140,000 tonnes of oil in December for payment in roubles.

He said that talks were under way on the purchase of 200,000 tonnes of oil from Bashkiria in a dollar-barter deal, but no agreement has been reached.

The state secretary said that Hungary and the European communities were expected to launch concrete talks on an association agreement in January next year.

The Hungarian government is continuing to liberalize imports, Martonyi said. By early next year, over 90 percent of imports will be liberalized, and the remaining goods, on which a list will be drawn up, will be handled with flexibility, he said. For the latter, he mentioned as an example the importation of cars. The customs levied on cars imported within the quota will be reduced, while those imported beyond the quota will be subject to customs duties of over 50 percent.

News Conference on Soviet Trade, Other Issues

LD0111145290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] Price liberalization, Soviet trade, membership treaty with the EC—these were the subjects of a news conference at the Ministry of International Economic Relations. Andras Domany reports.

[Domany] More than 90 percent of imports to Hungary will shortly be liberalized, thus it will not be tied to any form of permits, said Janos Martonyi, state secretary at the Ministry for International Economic Relations, at this morning's news conference.

This is an important step toward a market economy. In the case of the remaining eight to 10 percent, which mainly involve agricultural products and consumer goods, the permits will be issued by setting a fixed quota framework. Within this, the decision on who can import a given product will be made on a competitive basis. Even this quota will be maintained strictly only if the international trade balance justifies it.

Crude oil and gasoline will be among the freely imported products. Those who are involved in this must only satisfy certain technical conditions. Monopolies thus will disappear, and, according to the state secretary, this must be followed by the freeing of internal trade as well. The price liberalization which has been decided will really make sense only then.

Concerning crude oil, Soviet oil for rubles will still be arriving in November and December at a monthly rate of 143,000 tonnes—at least this was the promise. If this is kept, the shortfall will total 2 million tonnes with respect to the contract made for the current year.

The question of Soviet trade in general was also discussed. Today, the main problem is not so much an economic one, but more a question of constitutional law. No one knows how the sphere of authority is shared between the federal organizations and those at republic level, because, for example, the leaders of the Russian Republic and the Soviet leadership mutually declare each other's regulations invalid. Deputy State Secretary Lajos Berenyi is, therefore, holding discussions in Moscow today with the representatives of both sides.

The situation is further complicated in the case of the autonomous republics and the involvement of local companies. For example, the republic of Bashkiria would be happy to provide 200,000 tonnes of crude oil in exchange for Hungarian goods, on favorable terms. It is not known, however, whether they will get permission to do so, and it is not even clear who should provide this permission.

Let me add one final piece of information. Negotiations are expected to begin in Brussels in January on the treaty of association between our country and the EC. If it becomes possible to sign this treaty by the summer, including the complicated questions of agriculture, it can become operational on 1 January 1992.

Horn Writes Soviet Parliament on Oil Deliveries

LD0211104790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Gyula Horn, member of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [MSZMP] and state secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote to the president of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Soviet parliament and asked him to do everything in his power to comply with the Soviet delivery obligations undertaken in the contracts because political reasons can be detected behind the hitches.

Horn mentions two lengthier articles in PRAVDA among the political reasons, saying that, in Hungary, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian sentiment can be felt and that we blame the Moscow leadership for our present problems. Gyula Horn considers that, on the basis of these, the common Soviet people will have a distorted view, and he refers to the fact that the Hungarian parliament took a stand in favor of constructive Hungarian-Soviet cooperation several times.

Joint Soviet Venture To Promote Trade Ties

LD0211112390 Budapest MTI in English 1029 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 2 (MTI)—East Orient is the name of the new Hungarian-Soviet joint venture set up in Budapest by the Hungarian Industrial Risk Ltd., and the "Centr" Union of Rostov, Soviet Union.

The venture, which has an equity of one million forints, will aim at promoting Hungarian-Soviet trade cooperation, and the East-West mediation microelectronic research results, and products. The venture will also see to agency and professional consultancy tasks.

The Hungarian partner, the Industrial Risk Ltd., is mainly engaged in organizing Hungarian investments, and expects that demand for agency and professional consultancy, and representation services will increase with the accounting of Hungarian-Soviet trade in dollars.

MSZMP Official on Relations With CPSU

AU0111121590 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Imre Szekeres, national secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by Zoltan Szalai; place and date not given: "Different Quality, Different Political Trend"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] As we previously reported, Imre Szekeres, national secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], held talks with the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow between 22 and 24 October. Upon his return our correspondent asked him about his experiencen.

[Szalai] In connection with your visit to Moscow, one wonders about the international relations of the MSZP.

[Szekeres] The MSZP has initiated several international contacts since the elections held in the spring. To name only the more important contacts, we developed relations with the parties of the Socialist International, like the Austrian Socialist Party [SPO], the German Social-Democratic Party [SPD], and the British Labor Party. We have also developed our contacts with the Polish Social-Democratic Party. Our international relations have become broader since spring, but this was our first official meeting with the CPSU since the elections, and this meeting took place at their invitation.

[Szalai] As you already announced in your statement to MTI, MSZP-CPSU relations have become different, compared with the old times. What does this mean?

[Szekeres] The quality of our relations does not resemble the old relations at all. Here, the issue is not only that two equal parties are now negotiating with each other, but also the fact that the political guidelines of the two parties are different. The MSZP clearly expressed its committment to the social democratic way.

[Szalai] Will the different political guidelines not cause tensions in the Soviet party relations?

[Szekeres] The difference focuses on the elements of our relations which represent the interests of our two countries. The aim of my visit was to learn the political processes currently under way in the Soviet Union and to help solve the problems in Soviet-Hungarian relations, of course, by accepting the fact that we are an opposition party. I discussed some issues primarily in connection with Soviet-Hungarian economic relations, and we reached concrete agreements on these issues.

[Szalai] What are the results of your economic talks? What improvement do you hope for in this area?

[Szekeres] I told my negotiating partners that we felt as if Soviet-Hungarian economic relations have lost ground. The answer was that all this was not due to political reasons, but primarily to the economic restructuring currently under way in the Soviet Union. I continue to be convinced, however, that there are also political considerations behind all this. The concrete result of our talks was that we agreed on holding joint meetings of MSZP and CPSU economic experts soon. These meetings can obviously not replace intergovernmental talks, but we try to precisely formulate and settle these issues at the level of the two parties. I think that the Soviet leadership is willing to improve our economic relations.

[Szalai] It is well known that the MSZP initiated an international conference with the participation of the left-wing parties in Central Europe. What do you hope for from this conference?

[Szekeres] In our view, this conference must analyze the political changes that took place in Central Europe. Because there are experiences that are common for the countries in this area, it is very important for the left-wing parties to find the similarities of these historic changes. We interpret the left-wing in a broad way, however, and we also include here the greens' movement or the social-liberal trends. Obviously, this meeting should primarily be a scientific one, not a political one.

U.S. Senator Cited on Environmental Cooperation

LD0111104890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] A Washington spokesman recommends that the technical units of the northern troops of the U.S. military cooperate with Soviet units to remedy environmental damages caused in Hungary.

The Democratic Senator from Iowa state says that this is necessary because U.S. troops have the necessary expertise and experience for such work and that Soviet troops still stationed in Europe could also be used gainfully.

The senator says the practical possibilities for realizing this plan are being examined by experts.

Italy Offers Gasoline Deliveries, Credit Quota

LD0111164990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] The Italian Government offered to deliver 24,000 tonnes of gasoline to Hungary immediately. This was agreed on in Rome between government chief consultant Kevevary and the relevant Italian authorities. The other result of the discussions is that Italian companies will also join in to urgently update the Hungarian energy system. In exchange for this, the Hungarian partner will send specific proposals to Rome, and the Italian Government will support the work from a special, consessionary credit quota.

Italy will also consider how they can assist in creating the international financial conditions necessary for the transformation of the Hungarian economy.

Goncz Meets Swedish Parliament Speaker

LD0111193290 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest November 1 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, met on Thursday Thage Peterson, speaker of the Swedish parliament, who is heading a delegation to Hungary.

MSZMP Leaders Leave for Visit to China

LD0111193490 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—President Gyula Thurmer and Deputy President Attila Pozsonyi of the Workers' Party (HSWP) [MSZMP] left for Peking on Thursday at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) [CPC].

The politicians are to hold talks with the CCP's leader and with Chinese workers, peasants and professionals.

Gasoline Reserve Level Down to 8-10 Days

LD0111162790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] If all gasoline storage tanks were completely full in Hungary, we would have 40-days worth of fuel reserves. At the moment, the stock is enough for eight to 10 days, said Lajos Antall, trade director of the National Oil and Gas Trust. In the case of crude oil, the tanks are sufficient to store stocks for 15-20 days. There is presently enough oil for three to four days consumption.

Protest of Gasoline Price Increase Analyzed

AU0111120190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Oct 90 p 5

[Andras Banki editorial: "Crippled"]

[Text] In the last three days, Hungarians have had a first-hand experience of what they could expect if the skies tumbled down on them, if a wave of strikes washed over the country, if the economy collapsed, and if life became crippled. We were given a bitter foretaste of the dangers hanging over our heads, and this should spur us on to do everything we can to avoid the even greater misfortune of a complete breakdown.

The crisis was directly caused by an increase in gasoline prices and an ensuing protest. For weeks and months we have known and said that tensions are growing and that an explosive situation is developing in the country; however, few of us thought this would be the drop that would make the cup spill over. Things probably turned out the way they did because the gasoline price increase also acutely affected a professional category which could play a more important role at the head of the protest than the profession's actual weight in society would normally allow. The truckers were able to paralyze the country's traffic by blocking the roads;

this gave them such weight behind their demands that the government was eventually forced to sit down at the negotiating table.

It can be said that the truckers terrorized, blackmailed, and acted illegally. That is probably true from a mere legal point of view; however, the natural history of the causes preceding political crises shows that when the options of legal solutions run out, illegal means of action also come to the forefront. After all, when assessing the events, it cannot be ignored that most of the population initially supported the taxi drivers' revolt, and that the majority of people were able to tolerate the situation. Presumably, people tolerated the situation because they could identify with the aims of the protest, and because they saw this as an expression of their own dissatisfaction. That explains why the events, which caused serious disturbances and damages, did not lead to open clashes.

The main element of this three-day confrontation was not the opposition between the taxi drivers' blockade and the population, but the disobedience movement in protest against a government decision, a movement which grew to national proportions, and a movement which also revealed mistrust and dissatisfaction with the government. It, therefore, would be politically unprofessional to blame the taxi drivers for the crisis.

The indirect and deeper cause behind the current political crisis is that our system of representation and coordination of interests is still undeveloped and cannot function; therefore, the political system cannot deal in an adequate way with the increased tensions of conflicting interests in the triangle of employees, employers, and the government. Furthermore, the government has not yet shown any convincing efforts in trying to base its decisions on a broad consensus of coordinated interests. If oppositions and tensions cannot be solved with political means within the system, however, it is almost inevitable that truly illegal elements from outside the system will come forward. That is the greatest lesson to be learned from the present crisis, and it indicates that without organizations that represent interests—organizations based on a firm and broad mass basis—and without an efficient coordination of interests, the country could be the victim of similar anarchic situations at any point in the future.

The novice government of our inexperienced democracy bears a serious responsibility for this crisis. This government does not like to negotiate, nor does it like to compromise. The government failed to repair this flaw when it came to power. Six months later, it was still not prepared to let a consensus determine the size of the burden and the nature of the sacrifices that each section in society should bear on this road leading out of the crisis and into a market economy. The government still has no extensive and coordinated economic program, and its decisions resemble improvisations.

The way that this gasoline price increase was introduced is a school-book example of dilettantism. At first, during the weeks that followed the explosion of oil prices, government members stated that there would be no price increases in Hungary; this was probably said with regard to the approaching local elections. Yet, if they had begun following international prices in a gradual way at that point, they would at least have avoided a shock-inducing 65-70 percent fuel price increase. Then there was the see-saw of the last few days: There will be a price increase, but not now, later; and then the sudden change: There will be a price increase, not soon, but immediately. The spokesman announces that the government will not discuss price increases at its Thursday session. In retrospect, however, it is quite evident that the government did discuss price increases. The spokesman does not even feel that this calls for some form of explanation; in fact, he leaves the information session early on Friday. Since then, not a word has been heard from him, it is as if we had enjoyed an uneventful, peaceful weekend. It is also difficult to find an explanation for the government "falling asleep" on Thursday night, when taxi drivers were already setting up blockades on the streets of Budapest. Presumably, they did not grasp what was really happening, and thus, between Thusrday night and Friday morning, they missed the opportunity to have prevented road blocks from paralyzing the country. The interior minister spoke of illegality and criminal actions, and he threatened to send in the armed forces. Naturally and fortunately, the armed forces were not sent in, and by the evening, negotiations were already taking place with the "criminals."

It is impossible for the government not to draw conclusions and personal opinions from all that has happened. The country is in a serious situation, and even if the political crisis is toned down after yesterday's compromise, the reasons behind the crisis will not disappear. Only a government backed by a strong parliamentary basis—a broader basis than at the moment—could successfully affront the dangers and undoubtedly exceptionally difficult tasks ahead. The Hungarian political situation is not the same today as it was before Thursday. The limits of the population's tolerance have been outlined. The same governing mistakes cannot be made twice. The new situation requires a new style, a style which was demonstrated by the government's negotiating group at the round-up of yesterday's interest coordination meeting. In other words, we need openness, readiness to compromise, and willingness to negotiate. This could lead to the cure for this country's paralysis, and to a genuine consensus in society.

Government Statement Addresses Minority Rights

LD0211122890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Report on news conference by government spokesman Balasz Laszlo, on 2 November after the 1 November National Assembly session in Budapest]

[Text] On the eve of official admittance to the Council of Europe and its convention, the Hungarian National

Assembly and government declares that it considers the full and unconditional guarantee of human rights and their full respect as indispensable conditions of civilized mentality and behavior. The published government statement lays this down and promises to transform our legal system, based on European values and standards.

The most urgent problem of our region is to guarantee full rights to the national, ethnic, religious and other minorities, says the government statement, which continues as follows:

The minority can only be equal to the majority if it can live, learn, and work and be recognized as a community. In addition to the rights due to the majority, it should be allowed to enjoy special rights serving the preservation and development of its identity and community existence, with which it can neutralize disadvantages resulting from the minority existence. The Hungarian Government will initiate the planning of a minority convention.

Due to the illness of Prime Minister Antall, the session was again chaired by Interior Minister Balazs Horvath. As we learned, however, Jozsef Antall was able to leave the hospital for a short while again. The prime minister was able to participate in the last hour of yesterday's session of the Council of Ministers. Following treatment, his condition is good; tomorrow, with the doctor's permission, he will be able to receive the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty negotiating in Budapest, who are to prepare for the Vienna disarmament talks.

While we are on the subject, we learned that the Foreign ministry was only informed today of the cancellation of today's visit by the Slovak head of government and parliamentarian president to Budapest. The Slovak party officially apoligized for the postponment.

Government Session Airs Economic Issues

LD0111232890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] [Announcer] We begin our broadcast with Gabor Bankuti's report from the parliament, where the government session is still under way.

[Bankuti] Many members of the government previously engaged in scientific work, and science requires its followers to be solidly on the grounds of principles. Politics, however, raises different demands; the politicians can decide something, but they cannot stick to it with obstinate consistency. This is how Prime Minister Jozsef Antall drew the conclusions from the events of last weekend, and he considered it commendable that the negotiating delegation yielded over the most important question, said spokesman Balazs Laszlo during a break in the session of the Council of Ministers, which is still under way.

The opinion of the prime minister in the form of a message; he could not be present at the session because of illness.

The ministers agreed on the list of laws that will have to be submitted to the parliament before the end of the year. There are 33 of these laws; the most important ones are the laws reforming the budget and determining what the budget should contain. According to the reform, plan, the budget deficit can be covered by credits obtained from the Hungarian National Bank or from abroad, according to the decision of the parliament. The law on concession has to be adopted this year, so activities which could only be carried out by state and local government organs or their enterprises should, from now on, be open to anybody. They also wish to create the cooperative and land laws by the end of the year, and to reach decisions as regards the amendment of taxes and family allowance and the Budapest-Vienna World Expo.

The government has, therefore, called on the speaker of the National Assembly to make their sessions more frequent. The Council of Ministers to will meet twice a week on a temporary basis; thus this week it will hold a session on Saturday afternoon.

A decision was already made before the afternoon break that the interest rates on the refinancing loans of the Hungarian National Bank will be raised by four percent, making them range between 10-16 percent. The justification for this is that the interest rates on other loans are already in the region of 30 percent. Commercial banks are allowed to add a maximum four percent to the interest rate at which the National Bank lends the existential loan. In other words, this latter cannot exceed 20.5 percent.

Electric Works Official on Power Supply Problems

AU0211091290 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Bela Lengyel, deputy general technical director of the Hungarian Electric Works Trust, by Ildiko Nagy; place and date not given: "There Was A Drastic Drop in Power Supply on 29 October—The Supply of Electric Power at the Edge of the Blade"; first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Our electric power imports from the Soviet Union, imports which have been recently flctuating, dropped drastically on 29 October. We interviewed Bela Lengyel about the reasons and possible consequences of the daily drops of 300 megawatts, 600 megawatts, or even higher in the supply of electric power.

[Nagy] How long has this fluctuation in the supply of Soviet electric power been going on, and what is the level of the decrease?

[Lengyel] We had a serious drop in August, but the daily supply has been continuously fluctuating since 10 October. We had a total drop of 1,100 megawatts in the supply of electric power in the critical evening peak time over three days last week. According to the agreement, we expected a daily supply of 1,600 megawatts of electric power for this week. On 29 October, however, we received 1,200 fewer megawatts than planned.

[Nagy] How does the Soviet side justify this drop in supply?

[Lengyel] They say that the reasons include breakdowns, maintenance work, and delays in starting the operation of new installations.

[Nagy] How do this large fluctuation and the drastic drop in the supply of electric power affect our energy supply?

[Lengyel] So far, we have succeeded in tolerating this because the Hungarian energy system works well. In case of an emergency, we receive extraordinary aid from the neighboring countries. So far, we have been able to compensate for the loss, but the continuation of this situation could cause severe problems in our entire economy.

[Nagy] What can we do about the drastic drops in the supply of electric power?

[Lengyel] We can file an official protest and hope for aid from government measures; however, we will not be able to counterbalance long-term drops similar to that of 29 October. In the cold season, our domestic electric power supply and the capacity of the neighboring countries could become unstable. Our contracts stipulate a drop in the supply of electric power in case of malfunctioning. Thus, in case of a breakdown in the long-distance transmission lines, the partners have no choice but to accept the drop in the supply.

[Nagy] This will not solve our supply of electric power. Who could be affected by the shortage?

[Lengyel] If the supply does not continue to drop drastically, we will not cut the supply of electric power to households, but the industrial enterprises will have to cut consumption to guarantee a continuous flow of electric power. We have a plan for emergency situations, and this stipulates the use of our total reserves (900 megawatts) and, in addition to the aid coming from neighboring countries, the plan also expects a cut in the supply of electric power to some enterprises.

[Nagy] What plans do you have to change this situation in which we seem to be defenseless?

[Lengyel] For the time being, we are unable to operate parallel with the Western European system. We will probably not be able to join this system before 1995. A new Hungarian-Austrian long-distance transmission line of 400 kilowatts, as well as a transforming station at the Vienna power station are expected to start operation at the end of 1992. Through this station, we can count on emergency help in case of a breakdown of 550 megawatts. We have initiated several new negotiations with the countries involved in the CEMA energy system, and we hope for the mutual supply of electric power beyond the amounts stipulated in the plans.

[Nagy] How much does the Western electric power cost?

[Lengyel] We must pay for the Western aid with the same amount of power and at the same times of the day as we received it.

Radio Broadcasts 'Election Studio' Program 2 Nov

LD0211111690

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 0625 GMT on 2 November broadcasts its regularly scheduled "Election Studio" program on the run-up to Poland's presidential elections. The program is 26 minutes long.

Robert Kozak, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's campaign spokesman, opens the program by announcing that Mazowiecki will not campaign on Polish radio today due to the fact that it is All Souls Day.

Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, candidate from the Social Democratic Party, follows, reflecting on this sombre holiday, Polish history, and the nation's suffering.

Stanislaw Tyminski, independent candidate, then discusses the need for a middle class in capitalist society.

Leszek Moczulski, candidate from the Confederation for an Independent Poland, follows, remembering "our dearest dead," a reference to the three priests who were to hold the mass opening the confederation's February 1989 congress. Moczulski notes that two of the priests died under mysterious circumstances.

Roman Bartoszcze, candidate from the Polish Peasant Party, and Professor Rafal Krawczyk then discuss cultural and historic tradition and how they affect life today and in the future.

Finally, the time devoted to Lech Walesa's candidacy follows, including recorded excerpts of a Walesa speech at an unidentified open air rally and comments by Lech Falandysz, a Warsaw University employee, on anti-Walesa sentiment during the current campaign.

At 0651 GMT, the program ends.

Walesa's Presidential Chances Weighed

PM3110100390 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 29 Sep 90 pp 1, 5

[Wieslaw Wladyka article: "But Where is the Constitution? The Struggle for Power"]

[Text] Walesa has had his way. At first he talked about the need to "accelerate," whereas now he will more readily talk about "updating," but regardless of what he calls it, it is happening: Everybody is now rushing ahead.

Nevertheless, the initiative still rests with the chairman. He announced his candidacy and invested a great deal of energy in launching his election campaign. To tell the truth, it would be difficult to imagine this particular campaign failing to achieve the ultimate success; the only uncertain thing here could be the extent of public support he will receive. Walesa himself estimates that some 80 percent of the electorate will vote for him. His putative rivals must realize that their chances are slim in a contest against him; I believe that this will be true even for Mazowiecki, whom many circles encourage and press to run in the election.

The meeting hosted by the primate, Cardinal Glemp, the previous Tuesday, was called with the aim of arriving at some concurrence of views, but all it really achieved was several generalized statements about the need to differ in a civilized manner in politics. This is because the purpose of the meeting was already preempted. A while earlier Walesa got in with registering his candidacy for the presidential election, thereby setting off the procedural avalanche: The acting president was forced to state his position, which he did, and this in turn prompted the existing political parties and parliamentary clubs to finally decide on a concrete political election timetable.

The church's moderating moves should certainly be acknowledged and appreciated, but political struggle has rules of its own—usually brutal ones—and these can be expected to take precedence over appeals for political culture, especially if we get another serious contender running for the presidential office against Walesa. The more serious Walesa's rival is, the more vigorously he will be attacked. The chairman admitted it in so many words at a recent news conference, when he said something like: "I will use a longbow, but, if necessary, I will not hesitate to reach for an antitank gun."

Any politician associated with the ruling camp will find itself in an uneasy situation as soon as he enters the election contest. It is already clear that he will have to defend himself against the grave accusations he is certain to have leveled against him. These will be as follows: That, in economic and other terms, the balance of the past year is not as good as promised; that the future looks unpromising; that unemployment is increasing; that workers and railway employees are bitterly disappointed with their situation; that the state information policy is faulty and television is mismanaged; that people have run out of patience; and that the old nomenklatura

You can imagine the strike power of Walesa's "antitank weapon" if he does decide to reach for it. After all, the campaign has in fact been going on for several months already, and now that so many harsh words have been said and the Center Alliance and the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] groups have taken up opposing positions, it would be difficult to imagine how any kind of compromise agreement could be struck between Gdansk and Warsaw. The winner will take all.

Timetable of Changes

The latest Sejm sitting was devoted to approving the timetable for political changes. It was an unprecedented event. The same Sejm whose historic role must be acknowledged regardless of everything else, and whose deputies must be appreciated for the tremendous amount of work they have done, has nevertheless given us yet another demonstration of its weakness and proved that it has simply outlived its usefulness. This is not only because it is by now futile to uphold the contract arrived at during the roundtable talks, with its now senseless 65:35 percent ratio [reference to percentages of Sejm seats reserved for the then governing coalition and opposition respectively] (which, in any case, has been practically invalid for a very long time), but also because the Sejm does not reflect or represent the real configuration of interests in the country which affects the life of society. It would seem that all deputies without exception can sense this futility now. There is no guarantee whatever that the same politicians who hold seats in the present parliament will also sit in the next. This is probably the reason behind the nervous and emotional tenor of many recent Sejm addresses, which could already be said to form a part of the approaching election campaign. These addresses constituted, as it were, a front for a variety of political calculations which were, in turn, not conducive to great clarity of thought and concept. Thus, critics of the government were accused of vested interest behind their intentions, of particularism, and of introducing overtones into the debate which supposedly hindered the carrying out of crucial Sejm business. In their turn, the defenders of the government policy were accused of suppressing the essential debate on the condition of the state and the responsibility thereof to be shouldered by the Mazowiecki cabinet. The old specters of history returned yet again, as did the arguments with a decidedly moral overtone. Can anyone and everyone be admitted to the debate on Poland as it should be tomorrow—admitted, moreover, on equal rights, even if they hail from the former United Peasant Party or the former Polish United Workers Party? The left side of the debating chamber claimed that right, whereas the other side was in principle and in practice decidedly opposed to such equality of rights.

Indeed, this Sejm has outlived its time. It is both too easy and too difficult to engage in any kind of debate in its forum. Rational arguments can be easily smothered by moral invocations, and it is also too easy to blackmail your opponents. On the other hand, it is very difficult to arrive at any well-ordered decisions on issues of major importance if the essential game of high politics is played elsewhere. As things stand, the Sejm has only one way out: to carry out an act of self-destruction by approving a certain timetable of political changes. And this is precisely what it has manfully done.

To tell the whole truth, however, the timetable of changes has in fact been forced on the Sejm by the political interplay outside its reach, and it does not present an altogether felicitous choice. Even if we leave aside the decisions to cut short its term of office as well as General Wojciech Jaruzelski's term of office, the envisaged sequence of changes is unfortunate. First, the election and appointment of the new president; next, the parliamentary election; finally, the promulgation of the new constitution. It is supposed to happen in this particular sequence because the present parliament has been denied the right to draft, discuss, and vote on the new basic law. The Sejm is no longer representative, therefore no longer invested with credibility, and even if it were able to embark on such an undertaking, it should not attempt to do it.

The Mistake

Somewhere along the way serious mistakes were made here and we ran short of constructive political imagination. The problem is as follows: We will soon prepare to elect our new president, but we do not know what powers he will wield nor, in general, in what political system we will eventually find ourselves. No debate on these subjects has been as much as initiated to date, despite the fact that work on drafting the new constitution has been in progress for a while. Consequently, we will be electing a person who, by virtue of the old laws, will be invested with very considerable powers (incidentally, Jaruzelski loyally refrained from making any use of these at all), and then, after the parliamentary election, we will debate the ways of either limiting or extending these powers. Well, we are certainly tackling things form the wrong end here! The "fait accompli" state of affairs (already elected president, with his own policy and his loyal camp) can turn out to be in sharp conflict with the projected constitution. So in the end the latter could end up being adjusted, willy-nilly, to fit the specific person and his policy. Surely it should be the other way round.

If Walesa gets to be instituted in the Belweder Palace [president's official residence], it is difficult to imagine—especially as we know his dynamic temperament and his impetus and can appreciate his public career as a people's tribune—that he will be satisfied with merely representative and symbolic presidential duties, to be discharged only on grand state occasions. It is to be expected that the electorate will not allow him to restrict his activity in this way, either; his supporters will apply pressure and demand that he make good all the promises formulated at countless campaign conferences, rallies, and meetings, and in endless interviews. Walesa as a presidential incumbent of the Belweder Palace will want to influence politics in a decisive way, especially when it comes to internal politics. And he himself has forewarned us that he would strive vigorously to attain just such a strong and influential position. This is something we ought to be aware of today.

It is also precisely the way in which the concept of "acceleration," put forward at the beginning of this year won its political victory. Its adversaries in the government, the Citizens Parliamentary Club [OKP], ROAD, and the GAZETA WYBORCZA have already lost this game of the match. True, they can still fight for access to the Belweder Palace, but for the time being they are in the defensive position and the most they can do is oppose the facts created by Walesa with mere words, gestures, and belated declarations.

Moreover, there is not very much that rational criticism of the "acceleration" program—such as expressed in Ernest Skalski's excellent article "Polish Politics A.D. 1990" recently carried by GAZETA SWIATECZNA—

can accomplish here anymore, no matter how clearly they point out the chaotic notions, confused ideas, and inconsistent criteria in the statements on the subject issued by the Center Alliance group and its individual leaders. In any case, by now even Walesa is showing signs of distancing himself slightly from the Center Alliance positions, and it is to be expected that in a new situation he could soon "rise above the divisions" which he himself had fostered and encouraged.

There is only one truth here. A fierce battle is being fought over who will rule Poland henceforth. Regrettable as the admission is, even if the whole political maneuvers in Poland A.D. 1990 were set up solely to serve personal ambitions and assist various reshuffles among the political elites, everything now seems to suggest that they have succeeded and their maneuvers have become political reality. Before long this reality will be enhanced by tangible factual content; even if we cannot see much of this tangible content yet, it will somehow materialize, and in a few months' time no one will want to go back to the year-old quarrels and arguments because they will simply have become irrelevant.

Moreover, it is not as if the proponents of the "acceleration" scheme did not put forward any convincing arguments at all, beside the predictably demagogic ones. It was not philosophical notions but government policies which provided the ammunition for the critics, just as the difficult and in no way improving economic situation provided it for the populists. The runaway populist horse cannot be stooped by standing in its path, as Walesa said recently: "At the most, you can try to mount it quickly and grab the reins." The wave of populism washes away at the foundations of Mazowiecki's rule even as it carries the Chairman on its crest. And the force of this wave will be truly immense, as the elections could demonstrate. It could carry its candidate to victory.

There is also one other problem which we should consider most carefully and sensitively. What will happen if Walesa loses in his bid for the presidency? What will his position in Polish politics be then? After all, he will still be very powerful, and even if he stands somewhere outside the mainline politics and state structures, he will continue to be able to influence them. Everyone will have to reckon with this fact. We can understand the reasons for fearing Walesa as the incumbent at the Belweder Palace, but there will be just as valid reasons to fear him if he stays put in Gdansk.

The church appears to understand this dilemma perfectly. Andrzej Micewski, an experienced politician close to the church hierarchy elite, has recently taken a position as the head of Walesa's cabinet of advisors and could play a significant role in both drafting his election program and assembling the future presidential team of assistants—which does not necessarily mean that his activity is aimed directly against Mazowiecki. The exigencies of the present circumstances require that we reconcile ourselves with the unavoidable.

Walesa's patriarchal style, the remarks he has been uttering for some time now, and the campaign he has launched all give cause for much concern to many activists and intellectuals. The latter are attempting, under the command of Jerzy Turowicz, to organize a "Pro-Democracy" movement, which has proposed the nomination of Tadeusz Mazowiecki for president, claiming that he would be the best guarantor of the democracy they strive for. This is a somewhat unfortunate maneuver, since it assumes a priori that Walesa and democracy are on the opposing sides. "Pro-Democracy" activists also make themselves, as if by definition, vulnerable to attack. As soon as they emerged, we could hear protesting voices: "Who gave them the right to call themselves the fathers of Polish democracy? What exactly does this movement represent, anyway? How can this democratic movement, ambiguous as it is, cope with the problems posed by Polish social and economic situation?"

Nevertheless, we should all share in the sense of concern felt by Jerzy Turowicz and his associates, and we should all seek appropriate solutions which can contribute more to the service of democracy rather than detract from it. True, the Sejm has adopted the timetable for political and other changes, but it is still possible to introduce certain corrections and detailed adjustments to it. Even if the new constitution can be approved and introduced only by the next elected Sejm after the election and appointment of the new president, we should at least insist on the passing of basic statutory decisions on the configuration of forces among the president, the Sejm, and the government. A draft project of this configuration could be settled in a referendum. Obviously, this is not the best possible solution, because we can never tell how and to what n extent the results of a referendum can be translated into legislation and practical application. All the same, it would be better than nothing in today's disordered, even chaotic political situation. The questions posed in such a referendum would inevitably constitute an important element of the election campaign and politicians would then be forced to utter public declarations of their position. In this way the voters would be able to gather enough information about their deputies and could subsequently call them to account for their parliamentary activity.

It would also be advisable to combine the referendum in a joint exercise with both the presidential and parliamentary elections. Thus, presidential candidates and future parliamentarians could be subjected to the identical—and concurrent—procedure of having their election programs examined. In addition, with the application of this tactic the power concentrated in the Belweder Palace could not yet place its influence at the service of any specific configuration of forces in the Sejm or any particular constitutional option. Moreover—and this is by no means an unimportant consideration—we would then avoid an "inflation" of electoral acts. If we hold one election after another and have one campaign following on the heels of another, we could have serious problems with a low turnout.

We have the right—and we claim this right—to know not only who will rule us but how they will rule us. For the time being, we do not have a constitutional rule as a state political and social system in Poland, and the path that will lead us to it is very long. Much worse, we do not have a new constitution which could spell out our rights and our duties, our freedoms and our democratic liberties, as well as setting down the norms of order in the state, from the highest authorities down. In both principle and practice a constitutional system of government is built from the bottom upward, under the upward pressure from society, whereas a constitution is as a rule imposed from the top. And the top is where the struggle for power is raging now.

Conflict Among Walesa's Advisers Reported

AU0111122390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Oct 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Conflicts in the Walesa Camp"]

[Text] We have heard that Andrzej Micewski, head of Lech Walesa's advisory team, tendered his resignation last week. Lech Walesa refused to accept the resignation.

It would appear that the reasons behind the resignation are the disagreements between Micewski and Jacek Merkel (head of Walesa's electoral team), Zdzislaw Najder (head of the program council), and Lech Kaczynski.

When asked by GAZETA WYBORCZA to confirm the above rumor, Andrzej Drzycimski, Walesa's press spokesman, said: "I can neither confirm or deny it."

Andrzej Micewski told GAZETA WYBORCZA: "I am and intend to remain head of Lech Walesa's advisory team until the end of the election campaign. I do not know what will happen afterwards. It is true that I have had differences of opinion with other people who are in Walesa's entourage, but I want to state clearly that there have been no differences of opinion between Walesa and myself. The policy council headed by Zdzislaw Najder is concerned with election strategy, whereas my team has more long-term program aims. These aims are not direct political goals. This is the background of the dispute. It revolves around the range of our powers. The advisory team that I lead has prepared the principles of a new constitution which excludes the possibility of a presidential dictatorship. Professor Aleksander Mueller has prepared an economic program that incorporates the Balcerowicz program and expands to include elements of a welfare program. Walesa intervened in the dispute between myself and Zdzislaw Najder, Lech Kaczynski, and Jacek Merkel and explained to them the policy behind our work. My team's work is not connected with tactical and electoral goals.

ROAD Letter Backs Mazowiecki Candidacy

AU0111125790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Oct 90 p 10

[Letter issued by the Citizens Movement Democratic Action (ROAD) Coordinating Commission and addressed to "all ROAD members and sympathizers"]

[Text] The election campaign is developing positively for our candidate. However, an effort is needed to secure as many votes as possible for Tadeusz Mazowiecki and to ensure that his election is a decisive one.

We are convinced that our candidate will be a good president. We know what experience he has; we value his character, his authority, and his ethics, and we share most of his views on public issues. We want to go forward resolutely; without disputes and illusions. That will be possible with President Mazowiecki.

The support that the Citizens Movement Democratic Action [ROAD] accords Tadeusz Mazowiecki as a future president does not mean that we approve of all the present government's moves and policies. After the president is elected, it will be possible to form a new government that will continue those aspects of the work of the present cabinet that have been successful and to do so in a bolder and more consistent manner.

We believe that it is necessary to develop a new way of thinking and acting with respect to the agriculture question, to raise the status of agriculture, and to modernize life and work in the countryside. The social market economy proposed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki means complete respect for the laws of the market in the production sphere. However, it also means working to enable society to find a way of looking after itself as a whole, of finding a way of creating a healthy community and of satisfying needs in those areas in which privatization, and the operation of the market do not provided sound solutions. What we are thinking of are health care, education, culture, and housing. While expressing concern about these areas, ROAD does not intend to look for a "third way," and we wish to proceed along a path of reason and moderation while simultaneously introducing to Poland those forms of social cooperation that are an element promoting stability and social security in Western Europe and the United States. This also lies behind our unequivocally positive assessment of the functions of modern trade unions, union pluralism, and the development of all forms of association that express the interests and concerns of individual groups of citizens.

Our goal is a state that is strong by virtue of the support accorded it by its citizens. Local self-government is the basis of our vision of the functioning of that state. We have to work out legal norms that define the way in which local self-government bodies are to cooperate with state administrative organs.

A matter of pressing importance is the removal of the remnants of the nomenklatura system and communist institutions. However, what is more important is the question of what will replace them. The systematic introduction of reforms within a framework of consistently developing a state based on the rule of law will provide better guarantees for our integration into Europe.

We fear that the election of Lech Walesa to the office of president will not create such guarantees. These fears increase as it becomes clear that the common denominator in his diverse camp is frustration and the advancement of the interests of individual vocational groups. Lech Walesa is making promises that would have to be fulfilled by the future government; they are a task that cannot be accomplished because these promises are checks that cannot be honored. An attempt to fulfill them would lead to the collapse of the reform and to chaos. The very formulation of many of these promises already serves to cut us off from essential cooperation with the West by undermining the confidence of investors and creditors.

We are also worried by the signs of the cult of the strong man. This kind of cult may become the nucleus of a dictatorship. We do not see enough opposition in the Walesa camp to the anti-semitic insinuations that have appeared in the campaign against Mazowiecki. Mazowiecki's rival candidate should unequivocally disassociate himself from these forms of election campaigning.

In keeping with the stance adopted by the Conference of the Polish Episcopate, we believe that the exploitation of religious feeling or support from the clergy for a particular candidate are impermissible. The church's authority can also aid the nation today by fostering a feeling of civic duty. In these elections, civic duty means conscious, considered, responsible participation as well as dignified behavior that is free from contempt and hatred. That is the kind of participation and attitude that we have appealed for and continue to appeal for.

It is the task of ROAD candidates to advance concrete arguments for voting for our candidate. We are not disregarding peoples's feelings or emotional preferences, but we appeal to reason above all. We have to be faithful to our candidate's style; a candidate who would refuse to participate in a campaign that would violate the principle of respect for every person. We are electing the president of all Poles—we believe that a man who does not want to divide, exclude, or scorn people is the most suited for this office. His victory could become a victory for all. It is the better qualities in us that lead us to support him.

However, the presidential elections are only one half of the way and half a victory. Parliamentary elections have to be the second half. A strong parliament will determine the nature of our democracy together with the president. ROAD must be ready for elections as quickly as possible and find genuinely competent candidates. This calls for intensive work on the part of circles and district groups. That is how appropriate people, especially young people, can be found in a natural way.

The future of ROAD and of the ideas and values that we identify with depends on how we mobilize ourselves now and in the next few months before parliamentary elections.

The ROAD Coordinating Commission.

Turowicz Comments on Political Turmoil, Elections

AU0111115190 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 28 Oct 90 p 1

[Jerzy Turowicz commentary: "Which Path Leads to Democracy?"]

[Text] For the past few weeks our country has found itself in a state of intense political turmoil connected with the commencement of the presidential election campaign.

I think—and I am surely not the only one—that this is not a good state of affairs. It would be better if we were to have parliamentary elections, based on a new electoral code, first; elections that would remove the present parliament, which was not elected in a fully democratic manner and in accordance with the "roundtable" agreements, which have lost their relevance. This new fully democratic parliament, which would be representative of all of society, would then pass a new constitution that would clearly define the prerogatives and powers of the president, and that would serve as the basis for the election of the president of the Republic of Poland.

However, things have turned out differently. We all know why. The "acceleration" campaign has already generated a certain amount of political instability, it has disrupted the difficult process of reform, and has diminished our country's international credibility. Poland, which was the first to free itself from communist domination and was considered the most stable country in the postcommunist part of Europe, now appears to be occupying third place after Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and that has already had a number of negative economic consequences.

We already seem to have a couple of dozen candidates for the office of the president of the Republic of Poland, irrespective of how serious the candidacies are and how good the candidates' chances of being elected are. It is fairly widely believed that the choice is between two candidates: Lech Walesa and Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

It was an exceptionally difficult for Tadeusz Mazowiecki to decide to run against Lech Walesa. However, he made such a decision, despite his apprehensions, because he believed that that is what the formation of Polish democracy requires. There is no basis whatsoever for asserting that it is a dispute between the Catholic right and the secular left. There are, of course, Catholics on both sides, and, moreover, what sort of a left seeks to establish a free market economy and introduce capitalism.

I do not have to tell TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY readers, who know perfectly well, that along with the Alliance for Democracy, which I helped to found, I support Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy. "Solidarity" Chairman Lech Walesa has enormous services to his credit and has already secured his place in Polish history. However, this does not mean he is the best candidate for the office of president. We have not attacked Walesa in the columns of this paper, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki has never attacked him. It was Walesa who announced "a war at the top," who called and continues to call for rule with the help of decrees, and announced that it was necessary to divide society and build pluralism. This is a misconception. The essence of political pluralism is that all political views can be expressed and that people who hold given views can form political groupings. In our case, pluralism existed as soon as the totalitarian system was eliminated. About 100 political parties have emerged in Poland (some say that there are as many as 200!). They should emerge, draw up their programs, and win credibility and public support. The influence that they have on the political life of the country will be proportional to the degree of support that they enjoy. However, there are no grounds whatsoever for artificially inducing greater pluralism on the political scene and to demand divisions within society. We are at the beginning of the road to democracy, of overcoming the legacy of 45 years of communism; a legacy that has left its mark on institutions, the legal system, personnel, and people's attitudes and mentality. Overcoming this legacy calls for unity in society and for solidarity. Demanding divisions "by force" means an end to the "Solidarity" ethos.

The presidential elections should be not be about choosing persons, but about choosing programs. What sort of program Lech Walesa has is not very clear. We hear promises that people will be given money and jobs, but we do not know how these promises are to be realized. It is difficult to consider statements that the president will do everything that people want him to do as a political program.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki's program is the continuation of political and economic reform; a program of developing democracy within the current legal framework. The law is often still bad, it has to be changed, and changes are being made, but until it is changed it is to be respected, just as parliamentary procedures have to be respected, although they sometimes slow down the process of institutional reform.

This is by no means to say that the Mazowiecki government and what it does are above criticism. There is no doubt that much of what it has done can be criticized, but it should be criticism of a concrete kind that indicates what should be improved and how it should be improved. There is no doubt that adjustments should be made to the economic reform plan; there is no doubt that many activities could be be pursued more quickly; and there is no doubt that there should be a better information policy, that the government should not only tell people what it has accomplished, but also what they can expect and when.

However, to tell people that if things are difficult, especially in material terms, it is the fault of the Mazowiecki government is pure demagogy, because the cause is 45 years of communism.

It is not possible to create democracy by using nondemocratic means, to interrupt the evolutionary process of institutional reform and to substitute some kind of provisional "revolutionary" state of affairs for it, because those provisional arrangements then have a long life.

The Polish nation was united and fought against and brought about the collapse of communism in accordance with the "Solidarity" ethos. However, this does not mean that there is no common enemy today. There is a common enemy, and that enemy is perhaps more difficult to fight, because he is invisible. The enemy is the legacy of communism, which can only be eliminated step by step, systematically and consciously.

The Polish nation, like all the nations in the postcommunist world, wants to return to Europe, from which it was separated by an iron curtain during the years of real socialism. We want our return to Europe to be a return to a world of freedom and democracy. We need to integrate for political and economic reasons, and we need to integrate to obtain guarantees of peace and security. We also need to do so because of the spiritual and cultural ties linking us to Europe. This does not mean that we are not aware of the dangers that exist. The Western Europe of 1990 is completely different from the Europe from which we were separated in 1939; there is no lack of phenomena there against which we must protect ourselves: consumerism, materialism, extreme individualism, the decline of Christianity, and moral permissiveness. We want to return to Europe drawing on our common—common to us and the West—Christian roots.

Nevertheless, Poland's future lies with Europe. However, we can only return to Europe as a modern democracy, as a state based on the rule of law, and not as an authoritarian state. We believe that the Polish path to a modern democracy rests with Tadeusz Mazowiecki's candidacy for the office of president of the Republic of Poland.

There is one more thing that I would like to say "pro domo mea." Some readers charge that TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has become a political publication, linked to one political camp, whereas—in their opinion—it should maintain a neutral position or stand above divisions. That is a misconception. TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was a political publication for the entire 45 years of the People's Poland, it fostered opposition to totalitarian enslavement through the communist system, and contributed, with the modest means at its disposal, to the collapse of that system. Can we remain neutral and refrain from assuming a political stance today, when the result of the political struggle currently underway will determine the development of democracy and the future of our country?

Daily Investigates Farmers' Choice of President

AU0111124590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Oct 90 p 10

[Krystyna Naszkowska article: "Whom Do the Peasants Want?"]

[Text] Twenty-seven percent of Poles live off the land. Almost 40 percent of the population is rural and sensitive to rural matters. This is a considerable number of voters, whose votes are worth fighting for. Many people claim to know exactly who the rural population will vote for in the coming election.

The Peasants Do Not Want Mazowiecki for President

So say all the peasant party and trade union activists. One can say that the peasants are anti-Mazowiecki because they blame everything they do not like on the prime minister and his team. He is opposed to guaranteed minimum prices for agricultural produce which existed under previous prime ministers, they say. It is his fault that they have to stand in kilometer-long lines waiting to sell their grain, that the prices offered for their sugar beets by sugar refineries are too low, that no one wants to buy their potatoes.

The peasants are disappointed with the free market that they have waited such a long time for, and that is why they dislike the present government and prime minister. They accuse him of mistakes which he really did make, but they also exaggerate. They say Mazowiecki has given them nothing, and attribute their relative prosperity solely to themselves.

Therefore, rural people are very eager to repeat the slogan, once launched by a United Peasant Party deputy, about the antipeasant nature of the Mazowiecki Government.

Rural Areas Want a Peasant Prime Minister

With this assumption, peasant politicians embarked upon the election campaign. Yet they are unable to agree who is the sole, genuine representative of Polish rural areas and who the farmers from the villages identify themselves with.

The Polish Peasant Party [PSL] is putting forward its president, Roman Bartoszcze, and the party's propaganda chief is already inviting journalists to the Belvedere Palace. However, Bartoszcze's chances are not as high as his election staff think. He bears the burden of having assimilated the old disgraced United Peasant Party, and other peasant groups do not want to forgive him for that. The PSL is counting on its members (claiming to have 400,000 of them) and the support of other peasant offshoots.

However, the peasant parties are too much at odds with each other to be able to form any significant alliance, and in the PSL itself the leadership says one thing and the rank and file another.

The Rank and File Believe in Walesa

That is the opinion of PSL activists at voivodship and district levels. If Bartoszcze loses, the PSL leadership will back Walesa because, as PSL Chairman Roman Jagielinski says, "The PSL leadership does not approve of Mazowiecki."

Rural "Solidarity" Chairman Gabriel Janowski also wanted to run for president, but nothing came of it because his closest colleagues, in other words the "Solidarity" National Council, refused to back him. The Council resolved that "Solidarity" would back Walesa.

The peasants are criticizing Mazowiecki for exactly the same things Walesa is expected to do if he wins and keeps his election promises. Walesa promises that he will not kick Balcerowicz out, saying "I support Balcerowicz's dastardly plan because there is no better one," and that he will continue with this plan because "one cannot change direction when one has already reached the middle of the river, nor can one change a horse if one is riding in a carriage through water" (which he said at a meeting with farmers in Kielno in March 1989).

Walesa is saying nothing at all about minimum prices, loans for agriculture, milk subsidies, etc., saying "I am incapable of arranging anything because I have no idea how to do it." Walesa is not proposing any agricultural program, nor any solutions to peasant grievances. What is more interesting is that no one expects him to.

So what do the peasant activists expect of him, seeing that they are so keen to support him? Will the farmers who have invested in animal breeding and meat production under Mazowiecki's term and who, under this same term, have lived to see their very own agriculture minister heed this challenge? For complaining about the government for neglecting things and giving too little (something that every professional group does in this country) is one thing, but voting for a president who is expected to take the side of the workers in inevitable urban-rural conflicts is another thing.

So what are the people who long for the past—"life was good under the communists"—doing? "Either the rural population will vote for the PSL candidate or it will not vote at all," claims Polish Horticultural Union Chairman Jacek Kalinski. "The peasant want only Lech," says Piotr Baumgart from Rural "Solidarity." "Despite everything I support Mazowiecki," sighs a farmer from Ciechanow who is building himself a brand-new animal feed mixing facility.

'Main Points' of New Agricultural Policy Listed

LD3110183790 Warsaw PAP in English 1621 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 31—Fundamental assumptions of the government agricultural policy, approved by the Council of Ministers this week, are its ideological declaration on this question and define its long-term agricultural strategy, Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Janusz Bylinski told journalists today. [sentence as received] The document will be submitted to the Sejm after taking into account corrections forwarded by other ministries and after final editorial work is over.

The main points of the document are:
- treating agriculture as a branch creating a chance to develop the entire economy,
- taking steps to ensure the nation's food self-sufficiency, to increase exports and to employ residents of the countryside in various branches of food economy,
- agriculture can develop as part of the government stabilization programme whose main goal is market oriented economy,
- in view of the agriculture's weak condition, it cannot be subjected only to the influence of market laws. That is why some elements of the state interventionism will be applied.

Slaski Discusses New Army Daily Tasks, Ideas

AU3110162690 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jerzy Slaski, POLSKA ZBROJNA editor in chief, by Maciej Zaryczny; place and date not given: "The Paper Should Be Just Like the Army"]

[Excerpt] [Zaryczny] How does the editor of a new paper feel after the first few issues.

[Slaski] Not bad, thank you. The first letters and telephone calls from readers indicate that POLSKA ZBROJNA, the new Polish Army daily, has been received with great interest. We started on 12 October with a circulation of 70,000.

[Zaryczny] Why did you choose the name "POLSKA ZBROJNA" ["Armed Poland"]?

[Slaski] The history of the Army is full of wonderful chapters not just about battles and campaigns, but also about the printed word. In that chapter of Army history on the subject of publications, the best feature is no doubt POLSKA ZBROJNA, which appeared from 1921 to 1939. The last issue appeared on 20 September 1939 in the beleaguered capital. We wish to revert to the tradition of that paper.

Of course half a century has elapsed and everything has changed. I do not think I will be exaggerating if I say that between the wars the people liked the Army, which they saw as the protector of the hard-won independence. But today no one really likes it. Nevertheless, one should expect people to view state defense matters seriously. A strong, modern, and well-led Army is still an indispensable sign of Polish sovereignty. One does not have to like the Army, but one should respect it and refrain from insulting it.

[Zaryczny] What are you offering this Army? What kind of paper, what kind of program?

[Slaski] Not just the Army! The paper is addressed to Polish Army cadres and civilian readers in equal measure. We want it to become a platform of dialogue between the Army and society.

[Zaryczny] And what is this dialogue supposed to be like?

[Slaski] Competent Army representatives should present to society in the columns of the paper the most important matters concerning the Army. On the other hand, these columns should also be accessible to any civilian who has something to say and wants to compare his views with those of experts. We attach major hopes to this dialogue, for we intend POLSKA ZBROJNA not only to illustrate, but also to encourage changes in the Army. And these changes are really gigantic, involving every single sphere—from doctrine, organization, and weapons, right up to personnel matters. Changes in military training will be the most difficult to implement. It is easy to exchange a soldier's old rifle for a new one, if there is enough money for it, but it is impossible to erase old thought patterns in his mind and transform his mentality overnight. That takes time.

Briefly, we want POLSKA ZBROJNA to bring down, within the limits of its possibilities, the wall that 45 years of communism have erected between the Army and the people. [passage omitted]

Cornerstone Laid for Political Prisoners' Monument

LD0111194990 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 1—Today, on All Saints' Day, a ceremony of putting a cornerstone under a monument to innocent political prisoners killed in the years 1945-56 in Warsaw was held at the Powazki communal cemetery here.

"On behalf of the government of the independent and democratic Republic of Poland I pay homage to their memory," said Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki who is leading the honorary committee for the construction of the monument.

"These people were executed to intimidate and to subdue the nation. There were officers and soldiers of the Polish Army among them," stressed he.

The cornerstone was put by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairwoman of the public committee for the construction of the monument Maria Romer-Kedzierska and Witold Mieszkowski, son of the Commodore Stanislaw Mieszkowski who was murdered in the prison of the Warsaw District of Mokotow. Present was the Polish Army Guard of Honour.

The monument would be erected where the executed were buried secretly at night to cover up the tracks. This was one of many such places in Warsaw, the cornerstone document said.

The monument would be erected on the initiative of families of the innocently killed political prisoners.

Municipal Drivers Stage Bielsko-Biala Sit-In

LD3110163690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1500 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Report on Municipal Transport Enterprise drivers' strike at the Bielsko-Biala offices]

[Excerpts] Thirty minutes ago the strike committee issued a statement which, among other things, says the following:

The strike began at 0400 and signalled a warning. Since 0600, it has become a sit-in because the town and voivodship authorities did not undertake talks.

These talks began before noon.

At about 1400, they broke down due to the authorities' proposals, which did not satisfy the strikers. Let me remind that, first of all, drivers demand more pay. [passage omitted]

The strikers are now continuing their sit-in in the Bielsko-Biala enterprise and will remain there until the very end, i.e. until a decision is taken which would satisfy them. A similar action was taken by drivers in Oswiecim and Kety. Workers of the Bielsko-Biala MPK depot in Zywiec also intend to take similar action.

Talks may resume this evening.

Wage Talks End Sit-In

LD0111090190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Pay talks between Bielsko Voivoda, the mayor of Bielsko-Biala, and the strike committee of the Bielsko-Biala Municipal Transport Enterprise ended last night.

The agreement signed by the world force of the Bielsko enterprise stipulates that normal work will resume today.

Iliescu Interviewed on Moldavia, Nationalism

AU0111192090 Vienna Television Service in German 2107 GMT 31 Oct 90

["Exclusive" interview with President Ion Iliescu by Austrian reporter Paul Lendvai in Bucharest; date not given—recorded; Lendvai asks questions in German, Iliescu responds in Romanian with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] [Lendvai] President Iliescu, thank you very much for granting ORF [Austrian Radio and Television Service] this interview; we are the first Western television station to have a major interview on Romanian foreign and domestic policy. Because we have witnessed many demonstrations here in Bucharest, and because the newspapers are also writing a lot about it, I would first like to ask you about the current situation in the Soviet Moldavian Republic, which, for the Romanians, is Bessarabia. We have also seen many banners on which Romanians expressed their concern about the fate of their fellow countrymen. How do you assess the situation in Moldavia or Bessarabia? Is there a danger of a civil war? What will Romania do if refugees start to arrive? Is there a chance that this former part of Romania might one day be reunified with the mother country?

[Iliescu] This problem has two different sides. First, there is a range of developments taking place on the entire territory of the USSR. What is currently happening in Soviet Moldavia is part of the general process of resurging nationalism and all Soviet peoples' desire for emancipation. Several historic injustices, which led to the changing of the face of several European regions—be it through the incorporation of certain areas, first by Russia, subsequently by the USSR, as well as through the policy that was applied in the Stalin era—resulted in an accumulation of national problems that are currently exploding in the context of economic, social, and political unrest. These developments, therefore, form part of all changes and movements in the USSR. As far as the Romanian population in those areas is concerned, there are, first those people who live in the Moldavian Republic, but also those who live in what was Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, who were incorporated into the territory of the Ukraine. The fate of these people and the way in which they will be involved in future decisions must be seen within the framework of all developments in the USSR.

[Lendvai] How many ethnic Romanians are currently living in these parts of the USSR?

[Iliescu] This question cannot be answered exactly, because the statistics of the past years have not been very accurate. The Romanians have been dispersed through deportations or other economic or political means so that they now live all over the Soviet territory. I guess there are about 4-5 million Romanians in Moldavia and other parts of the USSR. These developments must be seen within the framework of the entirety of the developments on the European continent and in connection with international relations and events. Today we are all interconnected on the basis of international treaties and agreements, through the Helsinki Agreement with regard to the all-European interests—namely, not to disturb or change the existing borders on the European continent. This is something that we must take into consideration when dealing with these questions. As far as we are concerned, we are interested in having good relations with all our neighbors, including the USSR. Against this background we will take into account the interests of the people who live in those areas. We do not want to cause them additional difficulties in their struggle for emancipation. We want to solve these problems based on mutual understanding, to avoid straining our relationship with our neighbors, especially with our biggest neighbor.

[Lendvai] Did you contact President Gorbachev in connection with this question. As you know I met President Gorbachev only once—in Moscow, within the framework of a meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries. There we did not deal with the questions mentioned before. We discussed them with Shevardnadze and other Soviet Government representatives, however, and we reached a certain understanding with regard to the specific situation in these areas. The Romanian and Soviet views have come closer as far as these questions are concerned. Direct economic, cultural, scientific, and educational relations are developing between Romania and the Moldavian Republic. These contacts have already taken concrete shape. We support this, as does the leadership of the Moldavian Republic in Kishinev, which is dealing with the special problems very wisely and cautiously, and which tries to avoid serious clashes. The Moldavian leadership is trying to find adequate solutions that serve its own interests.

[Lendvai] What is the purpose of these demonstrations and this attention here? Some who criticize your government have claimed that the demonstrations are organized by your National Salvation Front [FSN] to distract the people from the difficult economic situation.

[Iliescu] As you have seen, the FSN is not among the organizers of these demonstrations. These demonstrations are spontaneous and express certain feelings which are objectively justified, feelings of solidarity with the Romanians on the other side of the Prut River, and especially as far as the trends are concerned which are breaking up the Moldavian Republic through the polarization of the groups of the Gagauz people and the so-called Dniester Republic. This is an obvious feeling of solidarity with the Moldavians' efforts for emancipation.

[Lendvai] The Romanian revolution took place 10 months ago. The heroic revolution was admired everywhere in the world. Yet, today Romania has a relatively bad image in the world, particularly in the West. I would like to ask you about the reasons for this? Did your government, your administration, make mistakes which maneuvered Romania almost into a position of isolation?

[Iliescu] This question requires a comprehensive answer; however, I will try to answer in a few sentences. We are surprised, considering the lack of solidarity on the political and humanitarian level. After all, the events in Romania are different from all the others that took place in Eastern Europe. Here we were overwhelmed with tensions which led to the deepening of the internal crisis, on the economic, social, and political level, tensions for which there was no other solution than this brusque, brutal outbreak of a massive popular movement. This process of social reshaping had a dynamism of its own, and also led to confrontation. The fact that we also had to conduct an election campaign within these first five months has exacerbated this character of confrontation, including all its violent sides. This means that, against this background, I believe that the natural attitude of the Western countries should be characterized by the democratic tradition of solidarity and understanding toward those who assumed political responsibility to head this process in such difficult times for Romanian society. I, therefore, am personally very surprised at this lack of political understanding and solidarity with the political forces of our country.

[Lendvai] Allow me to interrupt you. Was this not the consequence of the events that took place here, particularly the violent clashes in Tirgu Mures and Bucharest in June. Mr. President, in this connection you were personally criticized because of the mobilization of the miners. Was this not a big mistake?

[Iliescu] Who would have been interested in causing such confrontation only three weeks after elections? It is wrong to assume that those in power and in the government initiated these conflicts themselves. Such an assumption is untenable. Only three weeks after the elections, when Parliament had just convened, when the new president was to be elected, and the new government was to be formed—who would have been interested in causing such clashes?

[Lendvai] Maybe it was a miscalculation? This also happens in politics. A mistake?

[Iliescu] A mistake by whom?

[Lendvai] Your mistake.

[Iliescu] Why, for what reason, to what purpose? Why should the one who won the elections provoke such clashes? Why? What would have been the reasons behind it? It is as extremely clear that such claims are wrong and untenable, a thesis which was even supported by the Romanian media. It is normal that mistakes are made in moments of great dynamism in social developments; we have never denied this. We also assessed certain things wrongly, and we made mistakes. Yet the suggestion that we caused the confrontation is a wrong assumption.

[Lendvai] In an interview in a German weekly on 10 September your prime minister, Petre Roman, was quoted as saying that the use of the miners was illegal and a great mistake.

[Iliescu] First I would like to make it clear that it was not a matter of calling the miners in, but of their presence in Bucharest. Besides, it was not only miners, but also many other citizens; people from Bucharest and other parts of the country were present, who were very nervous in light of the danger to the state institutions only three weeks after the elections. In other words, the danger of a violent strike against the state institutions, which were voted for by a majority—moreover, in a situation where the police were not in control of the situation. If anything, one might talk of a weakness, but not of a mistake. It was a weakness of the political system which was established after the revolution and in which the forces of public order were not and are not able to establish public order and to hold their own, which is what is being done in any other democratic country. Under this aspect one might describe the intervention of those forces that are not part of the public security organs as illegal.

[Lendvai] It has been claimed that the intervention of the miners even involved members of the Securitate, who drove the people to the various newspaper offices and party headquarters, that the infrastructure of the Securitate has not been completely smashed to date, and that you are confronted with this problem.

[Iliescu] This is yet another political diversion, which is constantly used even many months after the changes. As an institution, the Securitate was disbanded and destroyed in late December. What was the Securitate in the old system? It was one of the oppressive forces that served the defense of the old system and the totalitarian rule of Ceausescu. It not only had all the means to persecute the people, but the means to detain them, interrogate them, and arrest them—that is, all the means for physical and military suppression. It was even better equipped than the Army. As an institution, the Securitate was disbanded and dismantled at the end of December. The responsible people of the Securitate were arrested. We are currently conducting investigations and trials.

[Lendvai] How many have been arrested, and how many will be taken to court?

[Iliescu] The process is much more comprehensive. The investigations in connection with such complicated trials are time-consuming. Currently, the proceedings which have begun only study one aspect of the responsibility—namely, the bloody events of December. This, however, is not everything. After all, finding out who was politically responsible requires a longer period of investigation, of analysis, and of establishing responsibility. The important thing is analysis. I am not saying this to defend somebody. I am, however, taking the opinions of the investigating committees into account.

[Lendvai] I understand. Let me ask you a concrete question. What will happen to the hundreds of thousands, millions of files which set up—some of which are certainly also about you, President Iliescu?

[Iliescu] Unfortunately we do not have a complete picture of these files because many were lost or destroyed on the premises of the Central Committee during the days of the revolution. Many files were stolen, and no one knows where they are. Many people and authorities have files which they use wrongfully for manipulation. Some of the files could be secured and are in the care of the Army or the Interior Ministry. The files are stored in the appropriate archives. It is a political decision whether it is to anybody's advantage if certain files are examined and made available to the public.

[Lendvai] Rumor has it that there are various factions and directions within the Army. A few younger officers even gave interviews to one of our journalists. One group is allegedly called GAMA [Action Group for the Modernization of the Army], which includes the old guard, and there is another group called CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], which is in favor of democratization. How reliable is the Romanian Army?

[Iliescu] I would first like to deal with your last question. I think yes [passage as heard], because I believe that the Army cannot remain outside the social developments. All political movements, confrontations, and desires were bound to show a certain effect within the Army, too. Yet, all discussions within the Army, including those groups who supported democratization, were intended to clarify the role and the position of the Army, which must serve the national interests of the country. One must clarify the responsibility and the tasks of the Army. Yet, nobody has challenged the Army's right to exist or its tasks—namely, to defend the supreme interests of the state, and the achievements of the people. In this connection I think that the atmosphere of understanding within the Army is good. We only put up for discussion how to carry out the democratization of the Army.

[Lendvai] So there is no danger of a military coup?

[Iliescu] I do not think so. On the contrary, I think the Army is set to oppose those who want to obstruct the natural process of democratization of Romanian society.

[Lendvai] What percentage of the economy should become private and what should be left to the nationalized sector? Should there be any limits to the involvement of foreign capital?

[Iliescu] It depends on which side of the problem we look at. In a first stage, we must adopt the economic laws which no longer slow down the development of the economy, but permit an opening toward market economy. In stage two the economic realities must be implemented. Thirdly, our economy must be modernized to achieve higher efficiency. If we take these three steps, one after the other, the first one will be concluded this year or early next year, as soon as we have the new laws. The practical implementation will probably take two years, whereas the process of modernization will last until the end of the century. At the same time, we must maintain the social element; our difficult heritage is linked to it. This means that the period of transition will take a few years, in which the Romanian society will have to put up with great sacrifices, efforts, and difficulties. Unless we are approached with a sufficient degree of understanding, unless we are offered both dialogue and cooperation, we will not be able to put our program into practice.

[Lendvai] How long will you remain in office as president? I believe you were elected for two years.

[Iliescu] That is correct. It is the task of both the president and the newly elected Parliament to adopt the new constitution in the course of the next one-and-a-half years. Subsequently we will have new elections, whose preparations will probably take us about six months.

[Lendvai] In about two years, so to speak?

[Iliescu] That is correct.

[Lendvai] Will you run again?

[Iliescu] It is still too early to answer this question.

[Lendvai] Permit me to ask you a short, final question. Apart from Bessarabia, another major problem is Transylvania. What is preventing the establishing of, for example, a Hungarian General Consulate in Cluj, preparations for which have been made? Will you do anything for the rights, for guaranteeing and legally establishing the rights of the Hungarian and German minorities who still live here?

[Iliescu] As far as the consulate is concerned I would like to say that if the Hungarian side had answered at once, in January, the consulates in Cluj and Debrecen would have been established a long time ago. The situation in Transylvania has lately become more acute because of certain incidents and also—I am sorry to say—because of a certain fomentation of the tense situation on the part of the Hungarians. Thus, today the situation has become more awkward, and one can feel a certain opposition. Nevertheless, I hope that things will return to normal, and that we will be able to solve this problem. As far as the minorities are concerned I think that we have opened things up greatly, and there are no insufficiencies in any sphere. Comparing the Hungarian situation with ours, comparing the rights of the minorities in Hungary with those in Romania, I believe that the situation in Romania is infinitely better. On the political level all minorities are represented in Parliament, which is not the case in Hungary. There are no restrictions whatsoever in connection with the minorities; for the press in Hungarian language, for schools in Hungarian, for radio and television programs in Hungarian, for theaters and other institutions—there are no restrictions at all. Yet, sometimes this problem is wrongly played up. I think that the opening up is very comprehensive.

[Lendvai] Nevertheless, international human rights organizations and the Hungarian side have claimed that a lot could still be done, particularly in the sphere of education. Will you personally do anything to help reduce this tension?

[Iliescu] I think that the relationship between minorities and the state is part of each country's internal affairs and is related to the state's relationship with its citizens. It is our task, and we do everything to guarantee equal rights to all citizens, including the possibility to profess their own nature, culture, language, etc. We have done everything in this respect and we will continue to do everything that is necessary for good coexistence between us and the minorities. I think that the problems with the minorities are artificially played up and kept in a stage of dissatisfaction on the part of the Hungarian minority.

[Lendvai] Yet I have seen newspapers myself, for example an article in ROMANIA MARE by Barbu and Tudor, and some others, who all write in a most chauvinist, anti-Semitic, anti-Hungarian, anti-Russian way. Is this a good strategy for Romania? What is your opinion on this question?

[Iliescu] No, but one extreme feeds on the other. Today we no longer make use of the means to exert an influence on the orientation of the publications in any way. There are more than 1,500 newspapers in Romania. None of those was established with the license of a certain authority, and none of them can be influenced through censorship. The political orientations clash. The only means of influence is a political one. We reject any form of extremism—political, ethnic, or religious. We promote an atmosphere of mutual appreciation and respect at all levels of Romanian society. We fight any kind of extremism, because left-wing extremism nourishes right-wing extremism, nationalist extremism of one color nourishes extremism of the other color. All this adds fuel to the tensions and conflicts in our country, which cannot be in the interest of society or of the state organs that are responsible for social and political life in the country.

[Lendvai] Thank you very much. We have not been able to discuss many other questions, but this is always the case. Maybe you can do it in a second interview.

[Iliescu] It is never possible to deal with all questions.

President Iliescu Discusses Moldavia, Emigration

LD0111221890 Hamburg DPA in German
2138 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Munich (DPA)—Romanian President Ion Iliescu has once again condemned the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia during World War II as a "historic injustice," but he has also renounced any alterating of the border in favor of his country. In an interview for tomorrow's edition of the "SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITING," which appears in Munich, Iliescu said that despite concern about the Romanians in the Soviet Republic of Moldavia, where national tension is being vented, a solution must be found within the existing structures.

Moreover, according to the president, Romania has an interest in ethnic German Romanians remaining in the country. There are no longer any political motives for them leaving; rather, these people are travelling to Germany because "a better life is promised them there," compared to the economic situation in Romania. These people, however, are of great significance for the further building of the country.

According to Iliescu, the Romanian leadership under his National Salvation Front is striving for a social structure in the country along the lines of the social democratic models in the West. They, however, do not want "to copy a specific model." At the same time he rejected accusations from Western media that the old party people are sitting in important positions—for example, in the secret service, the Securitate, which continues to be feared—even after the fall of the Ceausescu dictatorship. It is impossible to change the whole leadership of the country overnight, Iliescu said in defense of the reform steps undertaken so far in this sphere. The Romanian information service, which was created at the beginning of the year, has nothing more to do with the old Securitate.

Collaboration Convention Signed With Moldavia

AU0111164890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0917 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—The president of the Romanian Academy, Mihai Draganescu, and the president of the Academy of the Moldovan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], Andrei Andries, signed a convention of collaboration in science. The document stipulates the main directions of scientific collaboration between the Moldovan SSR and Romania in genetics, medicine, microelectronics.

The Romanian Academy's president underscored that the conclusion of such a document was possible only between the representatives of sovereign states. The Romanian Academy has had such a status since 1866, while the Moldovan SSR Academy—since 1990, when that republic declared its independence. He also expressed his solidarity with the Moldovans' fight for national independence and territorial integrity.

Scientific Cooperation Document Signed With Italy

AU0111171390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1252 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Negotiations were held in Rome on the conclusion of the programme of Romanian-Italian cultural and scientific exchanges for 1991-1993. Reflecting the will of the two governments to develop the relations between the two countries, the document sanctions the resumption of the traditional links between the Romanian and Italian peoples in education, science, culture and the arts, youth affairs and sports.

Noteworthy in the context of the substantial growth of bilateral exchanges is the promotion, stimulated by both sides, of the direct cooperation between the relevant Romanian and Italian institutions. Stress should be laid on the importance both sides attach to the resumption of the praiseworthy activity of the "Accademia di Romania" in Rome and of "Nicolae Iorga" house in Venice, and of the Italian Institute in Bucharest respectively.

The document stipulates the interest of the two governments to conclude an accord to regulate the operation of the cultural centers in Romania and Italy, as well as of a protocol on youth exchanges and activity.

The document was signed by Mr. Adrian Dohotaru, undersecretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and Senator Claudio Vitalone, undersecretary of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, member of the Italian Government.

Hungary Expresses Thanks for Support

AU0111212790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2004 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Informing on October 29 of the settlement of the social conflict in Hungary in the wake of the gasoline price rise, the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest said Hungary's Government thanked Romania's Government that released a public statement in support of the maintenance of democracy in Hungary and of the policy aimed at establishing a market economy.

Roman Meets Swedish 'Save the Children' Group

AU3110194090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1907 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/10/1990—Romania's Prime-Minister Petre Roman received Wednesday, October 31, a Swedish delegation of the organisation "Save the Children," led by Mrs. Karin Soider, on an information an documentation visit to Romania.

The Romanian premier thanked on his behalf and on that of the Romanian people for the generous aid granted to Romania by the Swedish Government and people, to be used for improving the living conditions of orphans and handicapped children.

Roman Meets Mitsubishi Corporation Delegation

AU0111212690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2002 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received Thursday, November 1, at noon, Masato Tasai, executive vice-president of the "Mitsubishi" corporation, who leads a delegation on a visit to Romania.

Possibilities were approached of extending the cooperation between the group of Japanese firms and Romanian enterprises in various fields of activity. This first exploratory contact made it possible for priorities to be decided on, among which "Mitsubishi" taking part in modernizing and supplying new technologies to Romanian industrial units in branches such as metalworking, chemistry and petrochemistry, the pulp and paper industry, wood- working, the food industry, tourism, etc.

Report on Severin's Economic Visit to Japan

AU0111220690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2134 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—A high-rank Romanian economic and financial delegation, headed by Minister Adrian Severin, the prime minister's aide for the reform and liaison with the Parliament, who visited Japan over 27 to 31 October, had contacts in Tokyo, with government officials and presidents of important Japanese companies and banks.

The Romanian delegation presented their government's firm and unrelenting decision to implement the social and economic reforms programme as quickly and efficiently as possible. To this end Minister Severin suggested his Japanese counterparts to examine the possibility of sending Japanese experts to the Romanian Government with the purpose of speeding up Romania's transition to a market economy relying on Japanese experience. The two sides also considered the prospect of sending Japanese industrial management experts to Romania to instruct Romanian managers and, if necessary, actually run Romanian enterprises.

Public Works Minister To Tour Arab Countries

AU0111214690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2102 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Over October 26-November 7 a Romanian Governmental delegation led by Doru Pana, minister of public works, transport and physical planning, are touring Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Oman. The delegation includes representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the Chemistry and Petrochemistry Department, of the Oil Department and of the Department of Transport.

Political and economic issues of mutual interest are examined and tangible possibilities are looked into to develop economic and financial cooperation with the aforesaid countries. Understandings will be concluded in such areas as oil and natural gas, construction, transport, etc.

Parliament Holds Joint Session 1 Nov

AU0111181490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1539 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—The two chambers of the Romanian Parliament joined on Thursday to continue the debates on Prime Minister

Petre Roman's report on the application of economic reforms and the necessity to speed them up presented in front of the Romanian legislative forum two weeks ago.

Before discussing the points on today's agenda, Deputy Nicolae Negoescu informed parliamentarians about his recent visit to Portugal as head of a Timisoara Municipality delegation at the invitation of that country's parliament. The speaker proposed that a Romanian-Portuguese friendship group be set up as part of the Romanian Parliament. The issue is to be settled by the foreign policy standing commission.

Deputy Mihai Balanescu asked the government—in connection with the ecological dispute between Romania and Bulgaria caused by the pollution in the Giurgiu-Ruse area—to appeal to the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency as well as to other international specialized bodies to decide upon the continuation of the dialogue between the two countries in that field and in connection with the Bulgarian nuclear plant near the Romanian border, taking into consideration the fact that the Bulgarian side is procrastinating or even refusing to discuss on that important subject. Parliamentarians decided that that issue be debated by the two chambers' executive bureaus.

Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state in charge with economic orientation, gave new explanations—at Parliament's request—in connection with prices liberalization.

The Finance Minister Teodor Stolojan also made some points in connection with the government's resolution on price liberalization and social safety measures. He supplied information in connection with the mechanism envisaged by the executive as regards the setting of the compensation quotas to be granted to employees and pensioners over the price liberalization period. In keeping with what has been announced, the compensation will be 750 lei for employees and 400 for pensioners.

General debates followed on the prime minister's report on the stage of the application of the economic reform and the need to speed it up during which numerous senators and deputies took the floor. In general the speakers assessed the document as "realistic", "solid", "logical" and "substantial". But there were also opinions that the report was not a faithful reflection of the reality in the Romanian economy confronted at present with a number of difficulties, the risk of which is hardly foreseeable, such as: the continuous decrease of production and of productivity, growing unemployment and inflation. Most of the speakers referred to price liberalization, a drive which some parliamentarians assessed as "a dangerous adventure". It was considered that the government "took its hands off the economy too soon" and that the present price liberalization "would deteriorate the situation of most of the population". It was asked that that decision be postponed or at least restricted in a first stage to certain products.

Deputy [word indistinct] Morar suggested that the government be given a non-confidence vote and announced that he opened a list to be signed by the parliamentarians unholding the initiative. He argued his proposal with the economic difficulties confronting the country at present, assessing among other things that the price liberalization decided by the executive should be made in a restricted manner in a first stage.

The session continues.

Discusses Agriculture, Prices

AU0111212590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2016 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—The debates on the report under discussion continued with opinions concerning agriculture. Some speakers said the government had no clear, coherent, long-term program for the restructuring of this branch and asked for the urgent elaboration of the a land-law package.

Opinions differed on the government's request to be trusted further competence in putting economic reforms into effect. Most speakers were in favor, some were against. The government also suggested urgent proceedings to complete normative acts conducive to stepped-up economic reforms. The government's representatives were keen on specifying that the group of the 24 industrial countries would back Romania financially only on condition that economic reforms—including price liberalization, rapidly come into force.

No final conclusion was taken. It was established the chambers would continue debating the report one day next week, to be announced beforehand.

On Thursday Romania's Senate and Assembly of Deputies were informed of a state of tension running for two days in Baia Mare between representatives of the Orthodox and Greco-Catholic denominations.

It was agreed that six parliamentarians be sent there to correctly assess the situation and lessen tension, while fundamental problems remain to be discussed and solved by the parliament's plenum.

Prime Minister Holds News Conference 1 Nov

AU0111181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1550 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Price liberalization is a necessary measure that will break away with the old economic system, at the same time allowing for a normal progress toward a market economy, by encouraging production and the competition between manufacturers, Premier Petre Roman told a news conference which took place in Bucharest on Thursday [1 November] morning.

Answering the journalists' questions, Mr. Petre Roman and Mr. Anton Vatasescu, minister of state, said price liberalization preceded privatization and the passage to a market economy simply because it would permit a realistic price calculation so that the price of end-products may cover the costs of raw materials, energy and fuel borne by the producers. When the actual passage to a market economy starts, each of the newly created commercial companies will know production conditions and price levels for their manufactured goods, Mr. Anton Vatasescu said.

When asked what the price growth rate was and whether subsidies could keep pace with inflation, the Romanian premier pointed out there was no preset percentage except as a result of future negotiations between manufacturers, economic agents and distributors. Anyway, he added, such allocations and subsidies granted by the government will maintain the present level of the so-called "daily basket", and therefore not affect the population's living standard.

Replying to a question, the prime minister stated that implementing price liberalization at the same time with salary liberalization could have resulted in an out-of-control inflation spiral.

Referring to the accumulation by the state of extra funds due to increased prices, the premier said that they would be used for industrial investments, purchase of new technologies and restructuring to be performed through a system of credits to the population to be soon made operative.

The Romanian premier admitted that price liberalization might bring about social convulsions but underlined that he did not expect "the social situation to deteriorate so much as to jeopardize the application of the new prices". Furthermore, he said that the government expected some criticism in Parliament as well as clashes with the trade unions, admitting that "compensations and allocations were small, even too small".

The premier also said that the Gulf crisis had affected Romania to a certain extent, but was not the cause for price liberalization.

October has ended, Mr. Roman concluded, without reaching economic recovery, which made us introduce price liberalization in order to do away with the old system and to stimulate production. The government has a number of instruments able to stop any "slide". The government is still managing energy and fuel supply and has the financial means which ensure its control against any price exaggerations, Mr. Petre Roman said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds News Conference

AU0111214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2039 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—In his weekly press conference held Thursday, 1 November Foreign Ministry Spokesman Train Chebeleu touched on the following topics:

The convention on maximum quotas of conventional armament and combat equipment to be ratified by the Warsaw Pact countries in Budapest on 3 November, will be signed, for Romania, by Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase. The Romanian delegations to the sessions of the Warsaw Pact special commissions for disarmament showed initiative in finding solutions acceptable to all parties. In compliance with this agreement, Romania is to cut its present stockpiles to less than half. In assessing its defense requirements and in adhering to this agreement, Romania has in view the new conditions in Europe, where the two alliances no longer regard each another as opponents, but on the contrary, they cooperate to strengthen mutual confidence and promote a new climate of understanding and cooperation.

The spokesman rejected recent statements on Radio Free Europe, according to which, since the December 1989 revolution, the Foreign Ministry had undergone no reshuffling. In concrete figures, Mr. Chebeleu illustrated the Romanian Government's efforts to infuse new personnel, in the Foreign Ministry included.

About the Romanian foreign minister's recent visit to Sofia he said "it gave the two sides the opportunity to clarify many aspects of the bilateral relations and find new means to develop them in future."

Relative to Doru Braia's situation, the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs made it clear that the above-named had been duly informed that he was expected to submit application and related papers to one of Romania's embassies, a formality leading to the issuance, in keeping with the legal procedures, of a Romanian passport for residents abroad. Consequently, Mr. Braia forwarded his application to the Romanian Embassy in Budapest and warned that he would wait no further than 1 November, 1990, 16:00, "after which he would make for the Romanian frontier where he would force his entry, by illegal means if needed, in order to regain his lawful right to enter his country." "We can only reject, said Mr. Traian Chebeleu, such an attitude that has no justification and tries to use pressure against provisions of the law."

Daily on Prosecutor General's Resignation

AU0111165190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1249 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—In its 1 November issue daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" runs the resignation Romania's Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu has handed over to President Ion Iliescu.

The request is motivated by the "sustained campaign of a certain press which opens a perspective which I could call diversionist."

After rejecting, point by point, the numerous charges brought against him in a long series in "ROMANIA

MARE" weekly, the prosecutor general stresses that justice will cast light on the still dark matters, but justice needs time.

It is yet unknown whether President Iliescu accepted the resignation.

Commenting this fact under the headline "The Head of the Prosecutor General or the Tails of ROMANIA MARE?" The paper that runs this spectacular resignation assesses that the president has been put in a difficult situation and wonders what will he choose: the resignation or the promiscuity of words? Considering the decision of the prosecutor general as "a protest against a society that can accept a magazine that feeds itself only with invectives for lack of evidence" the aforementioned paper writes inter alia: "what 'ROMANIA MARE' actually does is only a diversion, just as in Ceausescu's time, to divert the attention of the citizens from the fact that a kilo of meat might cost 150 lei, pretending that the country's problem no.1 is in fact the Hungarian irredentism and Mr. Robu's private life."

Dealers Violate Government Decision on Prices

AU0111214890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2105 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—On the first price liberalization day, 1 November, 1990, several dealers were reported to have put on sale goods at prices violating the provisions of Governmental Decision No. 1109 of 18 October 1990 on price liberalization and social-protection measures.

Various sources maintain that the prices in question were set by traders themselves not as a result of negotiations between producers and consumers and are therefore illegal.

Under such circumstances, abusive prices can only favor illicit gains for retailers and foment tension among consumers.

Consequently, the Ministry of Finance will check on compliance with the governmental decision and see to it that prices are the result of negotiations between producers and traders, as dictated by the market demand. Any unmotivated price increments will be duly taxed and revenues so collected reverted to the state budget.

Antigovernment Meeting Held in Brasov

AU0111220490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2132 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—A few-thousand-strong meeting was staged in Brasov Thursday, November 1, mainly to contest the activity of the prefecture and the mayor and his advisers. The prefect and the mayor were insistently asked to resign. It was said that in the ten months since the revolution the living and working conditions had worsened instead of improving. The leaders of the unions at the big enterprises in Brasov reviewed the claims of Brasov's unions, beginning with "Who Fired on 16-22", the conflict at Tirgu Mures, the events on June 13-15, and continuing with the food and commodity supply, urban transport, medical assistance, dwellings, the training system, measures for eliminating black-marketeering. Slogans were chanted against the government, the National Salvation Front, [and] President Iliescu. The country's leaders were accused of having marginalized Brasov, of going on protecting former nomenklatura members demands were made for the pensions of former nomenklatura members and underground militants of the Communist Party to be recalculated. The participants voiced their solidarity with the Romanians across the Prut. No incidents were reported.

Traffic Blocked in University Square 1 Nov

AU0111212490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2012 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—Road traffic in University Square was blocked on Thursday, November 1, round 16:38 hours, local time [1438 GMT]. Groups of citizens had gathered there throughout the morning and they finally blocked that important crossroads in Bucharest. The demonstration is against government steps to liberalize prices which apply starting today.

Thursday around 19:30 hours local time [1730 GMT] traffic was still blocked in University Square by roughly 2,000 people. They chanted anti-government slogans and demanded President Iliescu's resignation. The main topic for discussion among the people there was price liberalization. A slogan read: "New prices—a step toward poverty." People there demanded the postponement of the application of the price-liberalization move until after the new year. There were no incidents.

Thursday at 21:00 hours, local time [1900 GMT], roughly 1,000 people, most of them Romanies, continued to block road traffic in University Square. They tried to put up barricades with materials taken from nearby construction sites. The demonstrators carried panels reading "neocommunism-free zone."

Numerous groups discussed the political situation expressing their discontent over the price liberalization, which they considered a masked rise in prices. Anti-communist and anti government slogans and slogans against President Ion Iliescu were chanted.

There have been no incidents so far.

Parliamentarians Hold Talks in Baia Mare

AU0111214790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2104 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—On November 1, in the evening, talks were conducted at Maramures County's Prefecture at Baia Mare, between the parliamentary group arrived on purpose from Bucharest, Maramures County's Prefect Anton Pop and representatives of the Orthodox and Graeco-Catholic cults, on the tensions between the local representatives of the two denominations.

President Iliescu Visits Iasi Municipality

AU0111214990 Bucharest ROMRPES in English 2107 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/11/1990—On Thursday, November 1, Mr. Ion Iliescu, Romania's president, went to Iasi to attend a ceremony to mark 150 years since the creation of the local national theater, which coincides with the foundation of the first theater in Romania.

Mr. Iliescu met university staff and students with the Iasi Polytechnic and they discussed problems related to education in that large university center; emphasis was placed on the students' living and learning conditions, the ensurance of accommodation and of laboratory facilities. The talks also tackled current socio-economic aspects in this country, the difficulties at present in resetting economic structures on new bases, to facilitate the transition to a market economy.

The same day in the evening, Mr. Iliescu attended a performance with Vasile Alecsandri's "Coana Chirita" given by the company of the National Theater of Iasi.

Meets Political Figures, Local Press

AU0211164590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0743 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/11/1990—As part of his visit to Iasi, Mr. Ion Iliescu met with members of the steering council and representatives of the trade union organisations in the antibiotics enterprise in Iasi to discuss about that enterprise's re-equipment.

The president also met with local leaders of the political parties and representatives of the press. Answering questions,Mr. Ion Iliescu made again appeal to reason and political wisdom considering the moral crisis as the most dangerous for the country. An active and constructive criticism, fair and responsible political confrontation are better than fierce, aggressive and passionate attacks, the president said inter alia.

* Tanase, Munteanu on Restoring Civil Society

91BA0039C Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 9 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Stelian Tanase and Marian Munteanu by Dora Mezdrea and Sorin Stefan; place and date not given]

[Text] Communism treated people like possessions and taught that the individual did not count. We will need systematic and consistent efforts to reawaken the sense of individual worth. An alert civil society permanently monitoring the political branch, which in its turn will take the wishes of the society into account, is the guarantee for democracy. There are signs that the Romanian civil society is beginning to recover from the anesthesia of decades of communism and fear. The fact that for the time being at least, its voice and that of the authorities are running along parallel tracks, is another matter. What is important is that the civil society is beginning to take shape and is becoming involved in dialogue at all its levels.

We asked two of the personalities who represent important groups for the formation of a civil society—GDS [the Group for Social Dialogue] and the Students' League—to talk to us about the thorny path of this reawakening of the sense of our own worth.

[Mezdrea] The Romanian civil society is beginning to take shape. Do you think the day is still far off when its voice will have become firm and coherent?

[Tanase] I have a theory about this. In comparison with the other East European countries which managed by a certain historic process to rescue some parts of the pre-World War II civil society or to make one reapper after the war even under the communist regime, the disastrous situation of the present Romanian society—I am referring to more than the civil society—is due to the fact that communism was successful in our country.

Ceausescu was stopped from totally destroying the Romanian civil society only on the last home stretch. In the last few years he did his best to destroy the last remnants that had miraculously survived.

I am referring to small-scale property in villages and mountain areas, to the last trace of university autonomy—as you know all the programs were tailored along ideological lines, villages and the historical centers of towns were being destroyed, as was the status of the intellectuals, libraries, publishing houses, and publications. Similarly, his economic regulations served to destroy any trace of independence and initiative—for example, as you know, he destroyed all the artisans' workshops which no longer had any means of survival. So, it was practically open war on all the fronts of the civil society in Romania. The catastrophic situation in which we are today—because this is the truth—is primarily due to that. While in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and even Bulgaria private property was well entrenched in villages, such elements of a civil society did not survive here. I'll give you a simple example: Even during the worst years, all those countries had artisans' workshops that ensured the economic independence of a wide category of the population that did not depend on the state administration, while in Romania, under Ceausescu and his predecessors, Ceausescu and those who served him—including President Iliescu—managed to destroy everything that might have been different, regardless of its position in relation to the authorities. I am referring to economic, social, political, and intellectual aspects as one. Our present situation clearly shows that we are at a very low point, close to zero, considering the progress made in recent months by other East European countries in the democratization process.

The Authorities Are Doing Everything Possible To Hamper Democracy

The process of democratization didn't begin that long ago in those countries either; consider the Berlin wall, it fell one month before the recolution in Romania. Consider Bulgaria, or Hungary, the elections there, or the elections in Poland last summer; if we consider all that we'll note that we are the slowest of them all; unfortunately, the authorities are doing all they can to block our opening toward democracy. I'll give you just one example: A few laws, hardly enough, have been issued on privatization, and even those are not being implemented.

Just try, for example, to set up the smallest enterprise, according to the law in existence, and you'll see the resistance that the bureaucracies will put up at every level. They'll send you from one office to another, and of course, being corrupt, they will take stiff bribes for things they don't even do, just for stringing people along. This is the resistance of the old communist structures, or better said, of the bureaucrats, because in actual fact they didn't have a communist ideology, all they had was the ideology of their own interests; this is the resistance of those old structures that are very determined to boycott any process of democratization. Because, after all, what does it mean to be a proprietor or an autonomous university? What does a private publishing house mean? It means that the proprietor doesn't go to the state, does not depend on functionaries, but gets ahead on his own work. But the bureaucracy, which lives on other people's work, is very interested in ensuring that they cannot get ahead by themselves, and so they destroy all the attempts to establish a civil society in our country. On the other hand, the government—I am referring to the central government now—is in a difficult situation of its own making, because it is supported by this bureaucracy while it itself supports this democracy [as published].

Let's assume that [the government] is honest—we don't deny it, the facts do.

This apparatus that it motivates and leads will oppose any reform, because reform is against its own interests.

The West Wants Deeds, Not Words

[Mezdrea] It is a mutual relationship...

[Tanase] Precisely. But, as the government finds the utmost support in this apparatus and as they rely on each other, the government in its turn is not interested in reform. So we get amiable speeches from Roman and Iliescu, but they're not backed by efficient actions. They are very determined not to democratize Romania, because in so doing they would very soon lose power.

[Mezdrea] So there is a permanent tension between rhetoric and action. We know that the West has made the same observations about our government; the fact that the European Council invited you and Mrs. Doina Cornea rather than official politicians says it all about the government's and the president's credibility in the West, as well as about the West's intention to help a civil society—the Romanian people as a whole, but not the government. It is a good thing that the nation is not confused with the power.

[Tanase] Yes. First of all, when Mr. Roman went to the European Council and met with the same people that I and Doina Cornea met, they listened to the rhetoric, and after that—so our hosts told us—they asked for deeds, not words; the prime minister was told that Romania's balance sheet of deeds was negative. So what we need is not words. As for inviting intellectuals who belong to the civil society but not to state structures, I think that is a telling, if not significant position on the part of the European Council toward the power.

I can tell you that several of the Kremlin's former satellite states will soon be accepted into the European Council. Romania not only will not be accepted, but the Romanian Government's application is not even considered.

The Government Does Not Have the Necessary Clear-Sightedness To Pull Romania Out of Disaster

I think that the current government is made up of people who may not be great authorities, but they have worked with world economics and are familiar with economic processes, at least in theory. But the government lacks any social basis and the necessary clear-sightedness to pull Romania out of this catastrophic situation. Furthermore, on top of the contradictory economic measures, in fact the lack of measures, the government, and the Parliament too, went on recess, at such a time of great urgency; this lack of measures only plunges Romania even deeper into the crisis into which we all have to admit we are unfortunately sinking with few chances of recovering through tolerable, so to speak, means.

Consider that at present a reform would cost, let's say, $1 million; in five years it will cost $10 billion. And the social cost will be even greater, actually incalculable in hard currency or cash; we're talking about our lives, the lives of all of us.

Whom Do We Sue for the 45 Years of Catastrophy?

[Stefan] In his New Year message to the Czechoslovak people, Havel said that we cannot lay the entire blame on our former leaders, not because it would not be legitimate, but because it would divorce us from our own responsibility. Don't you think that assuming individual responsibility is very important for building such a civil society? Because in truly democratic countries individual responsibility is very important; each person is responsible for his own acts, while in our country people are accustomed to letting others think for them.

[Tanase] Or passing the buck. This issue is very complex but it has to be handled, and so far we haven't. It is a delicate matter. I think that we are all responsible for what happened, absolutely all of us: both those who lived abroad, the victims, and the executioners. Of course, there are various degrees of responsibility. We must deal with the issue of our collective responsibility, in fact with the responsibility of each one of us, and each of us must search his heart from another viewpoint, too. You see, the authorities are now extremely interested in spreading the idea that we are all guilty. By dissolving the communist party and outlawing it we have in fact deprived ourselves of the opportunity to put it on trial. I'll give you just one example: In the Soviet Union it has been suggested in the Supreme Soviet to put the Communist Party on trial for economic crimes, and to try those responsible for decisions that brought on the economic disaster. But in Romania, whom are we supposed to put on trial for 45 years of economic disaster and for the impoverishment of this extremely rich and beautiful country? Someone must pay for it. I want to tell you that today the Romanian state carries several tens of thousands of former party activists on its back. One notorious example is Alexandru Draghici, who probably gets a pension of 10,000 lei; compare that with a simple woman who worked in an agricultural production cooperative and gets a pension of 8 lei a month [as published]...

But we didn't put communism and the government on trial; the authorities have put on trial only a few people who were the political rivals of Iliescu, Birladeanu, Roman, Brucan, and the rest of them. That's not enough. We must try the entire apparatus. I myself was a party member, so I should be accountable for everything I did. It's true that I was ousted from the party at one point. But I am willing to appear before a jury that should judge my actions and whether they harmed anyone. I think that everyone in Romania should take the same attitude.

To simplify, let's now take the opposite tack: On the one hand, the government is interested in saying that we are all guilty, which means that no one in particular is guilty; on the other hand, we say, yes, we are guilty. So now we want to talk facts and establish the exact degrees of culpability. The Communist Party, the apparatus, those who had decisionmaking powers in military, industrial, or agricultural matters should appear before a jury and be put on trial if the decisions they took while in power led to disaster. I'll give you an example: There is the famous case of draining the Danube swamps. The people whose decisions concerning the Danube Delta caused the present ecological disaster, as well as those who decided to build Navodari, Cernavoda, and the Galati combine should now be tried for economic crimes. As intellectuals and as people who lived in this country we are indeed guilty for not offered any opposition at the time.

I myself, for example, am suffering from another trauma. I did a few things against the Ceausescu regime, but very little compared to what I could have done. My selfishness was simple: I had to have peace and quiet to write my books. Now they are written and I can even publish them. Perhaps I should have given up the books and go into open dissidence. My ideas were in fact known to my friends, and I always had problems wherever I was employed—I was fired—but I could have done more. And if more people had done more, we may not have come to this situation. I now feel very guilty for my passivity in the past years. All the more so since already in the 1970's I became aware of the fact that we were headed for disaster. I feel very guilty for this cowardice, and this explains my present excessive social activities, instead of staying home and writing my books. I feel guity.

The Role of the GDS in the Romanian Civil Society

[Mezdrea] Going back to the GDS: What is it doing and what should it be doing to achieve the recovery of the Romanian civil society that we all hope for?

[Tanase] The establishment of the group was brought about by two reactions. The first reaction was the need for all the intellectuals to unite among themselves. We, the ones who founded the group, know each other, feel a certain sympathy for each other; we had resisted the dictatorship and had not compromised ourselves through procommunist writings or attitudes. So that was the first reaction: to unite together and to contribute to ending the former situation. As long as we lived in isolation, we had our discussions in small groups; we didn't know what was going on and had no sense of what was to come. Unfortunately, what came was more tragic than we would have thought then.

Another feeling that united us was that we needed a dialogue for the future, not only among ourselves, the 53 founding members, but with the other social groups, if we weren't to remain isolated and at the mercy of a power. So now you may ask how much of our program have we accomplished. In my opinion, very little. Very little, because the events occurred to swiftly and dramatically that we were incapable of hammering out a doctrine and more profound long-term strategies. We spent all our time reacting to the government's violations of democracy. When the Front announced its participation in the elections, we protested. We were already considering mapping out more extensive, more elaborate strategies... One week later came the demonstration and counterdemonstration of 28-29 January—we were there, we saw how brutally were violated not only democracy, but our illusions, and the revolutions itself. Then came the events in Tirgu Mures; we were compelled to take a position all the time. We didn't have time to work on [strategies]. It was an uninterrupted state of emergency. What we did manage to do was that the GDS had talks with the trade unions, officers belonging to CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], parties, and intellectuals of other political orientations; for example, we had talks with Vatra Romaneasca, whose views are diametrically opposed to ours, but the discussion was necessary. Recently the GDS had its most successful action in Brasov, together with other organizations, and we managed to have a dialogue. But all this is only a beginning; we intend to develop contacts with the Army, with peasants, workers, and other groups of intellectuals, with a view to uniting our forces.

[Mezdrea] So you advocate the unification of the opposition?

[Tanase] I am in favor of very resolute steps to unite the opposition. Unless we unite, we will remain at the mercy of the old communist structures. I just returned from the European Council, and I had to regretfully note what has happened because the opposition didn't unite. The task of the opposition is to offer alternative programs to the government's and viable leaders, so that the structures will disintegrate faster. This has not been the case so far. We have had historical and conjunctural reasons for it. Such as the fact that some parties are not sufficiently coherent and don't have programs; all they are in fact is some personalities who have a followship and call themselves parties. This is not the way to make serious politics.

Marian Munteanu: "The Miners' Saga Was the Effect of Systematic Disinformation"

[Mezdrea] Please begin by telling us what the recent Brasov meeting did (from various viewpoints) to contribute to the efforts to recreate a civil society in Romania.

[Munteanu] Developing a civic conscience includes the ability to deal with delicate situations, so to say, especially with difficult situations. But in that context, a meeting between representatives of groups that were artificially divided, a meeting with people who were incited to act against us, was difficult to get on. This was the major achievement, the fact that such a contact was made possible; I don't mean a superficial, formal contact—that wouldn't have done any good—but the fact that important things were said there, and the tragedy of the situation that led to the known outcome was recognized—I am referring to the systematic disinformation.

I think it was important that these people realized that a turnabout was possible and that people were capable of changing their position; they realized that people can be manipulated and made to go out against innocent people. This new understanding was our great achievement. Of course, it is only a first step, but I hope that after this beginning, their efforts—primarily the efforts of the miners' leaders—will serve to explain the situation to the Jiu Valley miners. This is of course not something that can happen in a hurry, because the effects of systematic disinformation are rather hard to mend.

The Truth Must Be Accepted

But I do hope that the leaders will manage to talk to the people and make them understand, and we may thus be able to organize direct meetings, a dialogue, contacts, and exchanges of information that can be very useful for the Romanian civil society, that is, for all of us. All this is above and beyond the expressed or tacit political views and partisanship of the various groups who were present in Brasov. This is a matter of accepting the truth, the results of which can only be positive.

[Mezdrea] Nevertheless, what faith do you put in their leader, Miron Cosma, who in June said that the miners had come to Bucharest to teach the country a lesson in democracy?

[Munteanu] Well... I am not too radical. I always hope that people can learn to overcome misunderstandings, because this is what I think they are; and that after overcoming them they can gain a better understanding of what happened. In the present case, Miron Cosma himself took steps to find out the truth and to explain things to his colleagues. That is why I believe that we have no right to refuse any person a chance to do good—this is also what the Christian doctrine teaches.

The Revolution Began in Brasov in November 1987

[Mezdrea] Ideally, the civil society should speak with one voice. Along this line, I remember that during the Golania [Hooligans] period there was talk of a Bucharest-Timisoara axis. One week after the Brasov meeting, the street talk there was of a Bucharest-Timisoara-Brasov triangle.

[Munteanu] In one newspaper I saw the formula of a 'Bucharest-Timisoara-Sapinta triangle.' In any case, Brasov remains at the heart of the matter.

[Mezdrea] Not only geographically...

[Munteanu] Of course not. I want to reaffirm what I said in Brasov, namely that the Revolution began in Brasov in November 1987. And when I say that, I am not ignoring the anticommunist struggle carried out throughout the last 45 years. Within this history that we all lived, Brasov showed in 1987 that it could be done. I think that Brasov's example was very important, perhaps even decisive for Timisoara in 1989, and from there to the other cities that rose to struggle before the TV communque: Arad, Sibiu, and Cluj. People may have remembered in 1989 that in 1987 the people of Brasov rebelled but were left to fight in solitude, so that kind of isolation was not repeated. For a short while after December we all thought that it had ended well.

[Mezdrea] But it was only beginning!

[Munteanu] Well, revolutions cannot take one day, they last far longer. But I am still convinced that what occurred in December was a revolution; I am not a supporter of any plot or coup d'etat theory. There was a revolution in December. What happened afterwards and how the old structures were preserved is another matter. The revolution began then and it was officially declared on 20 December when Timisoara declared itself a free city, and it will continue until the natural institutions of a democratic state of law will become operational and efficient. Only then will we be in a position to state that the revolutionary process has been completed in Romania.

[Mezdrea] What role do you think the Students League—which you represent—will play in this process of formation of a sivil society in Romania?

[Munteanu] The students know that better than I do. All I can tell you is that, as long as my collegues support the same principles they supported in December, the Students League will remain a distinct voice in this society. I believe that the students—both those at the University and our colleagues from other institutes throughout the country who decided to take a responsible attitude—will not abdicate this position. Such an abdication is no longer possible. I may be too optimistic, but, as one of my professors said, when I think of the Romanian people I have no right to be pessimistic.

What Is Happening in Sapinta Is a Typically Romanian Process

[Stefan] I just saw the tape of the trial of Toader Stetca, and it was a joy; I cannot say the same about other regions in the country, but when I saw the people of Sapinta I thought that, as long as we have such people, there is still hope for Romania. Don't you think that the Sapinta phenomenon is an expression of symptomatic changes occurring in the Romanian state?

[Munteanu] I was very much concerned with the situation in Sapinta, especially since I don't think that what is happening there is something new. On the contrary, the Sapinta phenomenon is something ancient, I would say. What is happening there is not the outcome of revolutionary events, but the natural continuation of the Romanian national spirit. The behavior of the Sapinta villagers followed the natural traditions of the Romanian village. The life of our villages always centered around the idea of Christianity and a spirit of truth and justice. What is happening there is precisely a manifestation of support for the idea of truth and justice. It would be sad if what is happening there were not happening in other villages. So the Sapinta phenomenon is not something new. The Romanian village preserved its uniqueness because of the manner in which information was gathered and circulated and values were asserted; these are phenomena that go back to times immemorial. We don't know at what point in time they began, but we know that they survived in harsh conditions and here is proof that they continue to exist. I view Sapinta as something natural, as the most natural and most Romanian thing. Other manifestations were not Romanian, not those in Sapinta and other areas. I think that this village is a symbol of the entire country. I think that the 85:15 ratio of the so-called nomenklatura is valid for the entire country; most of the Romanians have nothing to do with the communist system, nor do they want to maintain the structures of the communist state. We have seen that people can be made to struggle against their own interests at the macrolevel. However, that is not possible in a village of 2,000 inhabitants in which everybody knows everybody else. I am not apprehensive about the groups that support the so-called nomenklatura. The problem is not to fight against them, but to make them understand that they had been deceived and lied to. When we have succeeded in doing that, they themselves will get rid of those individuals who are still in power. Because, as we recall, everybody was on the same wavelength in December. The situation changed after December, after we were flooded by newspapers. Especially the newspapers supported by the country's leadership—I am referring to notorious scandal sheets like ADEVARUL, AZI, etc., and to the Romanian Television. As soon as we have an independent television station to present unedited images to the people, they will understand by themselves, because the Romanian nation is not 80 percent stupid, as it was once said; quite the opposite. People are not stupid; they are normal people, intelligent and capable of understanding, but even an intelligent person may be manipulated by the media. Thus, the war against the nomenklatura is mainly a war of information. A war of truth against lies. As far as I am concerned, once the truth has reached the people the war will be over.

* Cooperative Union Head on Draft Land Law

91BA0040C Bucharest AZI in Romanian
10 Oct 90 pp 1, 3

Interview with Aurel Stirbu by G. Ostroveanu, chairman of the Union of Agricultural Cooperatives; place and date not given; first paragraph is AZI introduction]

[Text] The land bill is naturally expected with impatience in the villages and it can do much to take care of urgent requirements. The Union of Agricultural Cooperatives [UCA] not only cannot remain indifferent to the prospect of such a bill, but it could have been expected to become involved in hammering it out and improving on it. Nevertheless, this central organization of the cooperatives has not contributed any observations and proposals to the draft worked out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

[Stirbu] In our opinion, the present draft bill on the land stock is too complex, too elaborate. We presented our arguments to Prime Minister Petre Roman, who accepted that we, the UCA put together another draft that will be examined by the government as an alternative to the first. We drafted and submitted our draft bill, which is more flexible, more concise, and I would say, more to the point. We proceeded from the view that, for the time being, we can postpone questions like the legal status of the forests, land tracts under water, and other special issues. Similarly, we don't think that there is any urgency about regulating the land survey [cadastre], land amelioration operations, and other matters taken from Law No. 54/1974. The main concern of the peasantry now is, we think, the right of land ownership and guarantees for the prerogatives stemming from that right: possession, use, and the right to sell or bequeth. The answer to these concerns must come as soon as possible in order to preempt the destabilization of agricultural production processes.

[Ostroveanu] What are the main provisions of your draft bill?

[Stirbu] From the very beginning we stated that, regardless of the form of ownership, the land is the sole real estate stock of the country and the property of the entire nation. We view the complete use, protection, and amelioration of the land as the joint duty of both the state administration and private land holders in whatever form. Our draft bill deals only with the right of property, transaction, and exploitation of land used for farming purposes and located outside urban areas. For the other cases, we already have a law that puts a temporary moratorium on land transactions. We believe that the right of ownership over agricultural land can belong to the state, to legal bodies working autonomously, and to private persons with Romanian citizenship and residence.

We believe it is necessary to specify that the agricultural land plots belonging to the state are those recorded in the general land survey on the basis of legal titles. They are managed according to the laws of the country and the decisions of the government. The government is entitled to approve the leasing, concession, or sale of some of the state's land, but only to Romanian citizens residing in the country and to autonomous legal bodies. Similarly, state-owned land may be assigned for use to individuals who do not own or own little land and who know how to farm it. Only five years after the asignment and depending on the production results obtained, may such persons become owners with full rights.

As for autonomous legal bodies—foundations, monasteries, societies, associations, etc.—our draft stipulates their right of ownership over land earmarked for agricultural uses registered in their name in the general land survey on the basis of legal titles. Legal bodies are entitled to sell, lease, or rent their land.

We think that broader regulations should be envisaged for the private property of cooperative members, namely: The members of the present cooperatives and the legal heirs of deceased members own the land under their houses and annex buildings and their yards and gardens, within the limit of the area they had when they joined the cooperative. However, we specify in our draft that the plots of land legally assigned as sites for houses are the property of the present holders. The former owners will be compensated by receiving an equivalent plot out of a special land stock established under the present bill. Plots of land inside urban areas assigned for uses other than construction will legally revert to their initial owners.

Our draft envisages that the members of the present agricultural cooperatives who work in them or are retired and reside within the perimeter of the cooperative, own a indivisible share of the land located outside the urban area equal to the land they had when they joined the cooperative. The size of the plot may be corrected proportionally to the areas of land lost to the cooperative as a result of expropriation or other legal steps. In case of death, the property of the indivisible share of the agricultural land will revert to the legal heirs employed in the cooperative.

Our proposal is that the land that is to be given in private property to cooperative members and their heirs should be determined on the basis of the records of the cooperatives and of the agricultural survey at the date when the members joined the cooperative. Commissions will also be established in each unit for the same purpose, made up of the chairman, chief engineer, chief accountant, and legal adviser of the unit. The commissions will draw up lists of cooperative members and their heirs entitled to regain their property rights, and the size of the plots of land to which they are entitled. The lists will be posted for 30 days at the unit offices. Those who have complaints can appeal for amendments, and if their appeals are not resolved, they can appeal to specially formed county commissions, and then to the courts.

[Ostroveanu] You talk mainly about "cooperative members," but as we know, these are mostly elderly people. We also know that most of the work force is made up of women, that the best workers have left the villages, that many of the former peasants will become superfluous in the industry, and so forth. In the near future the main hope of the villages is that people, especially young people, will return to the land. What incentives will you include in the law to encourage more households to settle down in the rural environment?

[Stirbu] I mentioned a land stock reserve. This reserve will be made up of the land brought into the cooperative by persons who do not now qualify to regain their property, of land assigned by the state to cooperatives in perpetuity, and of land legally acquired by the cooperative. According to the new law, out of this reserve stock we can offer plots for use or in ownership to cooperative members who don't have any or have little land. We hope that this measure will prompt especially young men who live in villages to switch their professional orientation to farming. We also hope that people who left will return to the country. Professionals connected to agriculture, people who work in cooperatives on the basis of a work contract, and others will also be eligible to receive land.

In our opinion, cooperative members or their heirs who had land but did not work in cooperatives and did not live in the respective locality, or who are now state employees or pensioners, may regain their right of ownership to the land they brought into the cooperative when they joined if they return to the village and go back to farming within five years of the issue of this bill. After that interval they will receive the value of the land in cash.

[Ostroveanu] In other words, your draft bill contains full guarantees for the right to private ownership. How does this fit in with peasants associating in cooperative organizations, the organizations that you represent?

[Stirbu] Our draft bill contains provisions concerning forms of joint exploitation such as: commercial associations organized according to units and farms, concession holders, land leasing, family farms, etc.

In our vision, public associations can specialize in various areas: vegetable crops, raising and fattening pigs, cattle, and poultry, land amelioration, fisheries, silk worms, fruit orchards and vineyards, technical-material supplies, mechanized agricultural operations, produce processing and marketing, or other activities specific of certain regions or localities. Public associations, state or cooperative enterprises, and private owners can also associate in other forms, too.

[Ostroveanu] The quality of the land is often not the same as it was. Land amelioration projects were carried out in the meantime.

[Stirbu] For such cases the law stipulates that all the new owners must assume the outstanding remainders of the respective bank loans, which they are to pay gradually in cash or produce. The new owners are also obligated to maintain the respective amelioration projects in good working order. On the other hand, there are general laws, like the obligation of all land holders to farm and cultivate all their plots and to implement agricultural and livestock norms. Along this line, people will be obligated to take the necessary measures to protect the land, to do what is necessary to improve it, to prevent and combat soil erosion and any other factors that may unfavorably affect the crops.

The punishment envisaged in the law is that land holders who systematically fail to do maintenance work on the crops and to implement soil protection and amelioration measures may be sued and sentenced, after which the plots left uncultivated may be assigned by the respective mayoralty to other individuals or associations to cultivate, without any damages paid to the owner.

* Government Plans for Increasing Food Production

91BA0040A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Oct 90 pp 1, 3

[Corina Dragotescu article]

[Text] A plenum session of the Parliament was held yesterday in the Palace Hall. The agenda included a very topical issue: A government report on the measures required to ensure consumer supplies of foodstuffs, heat, and electricity for the 1990-91 winter.

The government's report, presented by Mr. Anton Vatasescu, painted a grim economic picture. We thus learned that, "in view of the situation from which we started out and of the work situation in Romania, the results obtained in 1990 fell short of the people's expectations, and there are no immediate conditions at hand for a bigger leap forward in the coming year." This statement was supported by many, many statistics and figures, but we wondered what good they can do to keep us fed and warm in the winter. Here, in short, is the situation presented in the first chapter concerning foodstuffs:

—The considerable increases recorded in animal products in 1990 as compared to 1989 (56.6 percent meat, 17.5 percent milk; 32.3 percent eggs) were achieved thanks to the aid allocated to the agricultural sector, imported fodder, and purchases and aid from abroad, which supplied 20 percent of the meat, 10 percent of the milk, and six percent of the eggs at a cost of about $300 million.

—For the first semester of 1991 the Government suggests a program for basic food staples, with the caveat that "deliveries of animal products will be secured entirely from domestic sources, which will make up for the 1990 imports, and will also continue to provide, we hope, a small surplus. Unfortunately, this year's increases in the number of pigs, sheep, and fowl were not accompanied by corresponding increases in fodder resources, both because of the long and pronounced drought, and because of drawbacks in this year's agricultural activities."

—An important change occurred this year in the production of industrial crops, brought about by the fact that the peasants lost interest in such crops and cut down 750,000 hectares from the area cultivated to them. Among the industrial crops, a particular effect resulted from the shortfall of sunflower and soybean, which had a direct impact on the production of oil, and the sugar beet shortfall, which affected the production of sugar. The smaller corn crops obtained in 1990 and the increase in the number of livestock make it necessary to import fodder concentrates.

—To ensure the level of consumer supplies we planned, we will have to supplement the domestic resources with imports totalling $820 million in the fourth quarter of 1990 and the first semester of 1991. These imports will be financed by: a) Directly paying out $300 million from the balanced [budget] resources; b) fodder imports worth $320 million will be purchased with a credit to be repaid 12 months after delivery; c) exporting surplus domestic foodstuffs totalling $200 million.

—The measures taken by the government to modify the structure of ownership of agricultural land (individual peasant farms increased by 355,000 hectares in the wake of the dismantling of 820 cooperatives) had a favorable impact on the number of privately raised livestock and animal yields, and on individually obtained produce. The produce individually produced and available for direct marketing totals more than $450 million (not counting vegetables).

The government did more than present the situation concerning foodstuffs: It proposed solutions for further encouraging the development of agricultural production, solutions which are incorporated in a complex program of actions, from which we culled:

1. The government will approve up to 1 million tons of wheat in aid from the state reserve stockpiles.

2. Individual farmers who have corn will be helped to develop their animal production by supplying them with livestock (pigs, fowl, etc.) to raise and fatten.

3. Corn purchases from private farmers will be encouraged by raising the purchase price and offering construction materials in barter.

4. The units that obtained good results in 1990 and can supply guarantees for continued efficiency will be provided with imported fodder as an incentive.

5. Sugar beet will be purchased by a smaller number of plants which will, however, ensure a higher productivity and a more economical utilization of energy.

6. Repairing and working the mills seven days a week in five teams, with a view to meeting flour requirements.

7. Practicing a flexible state price policy through subsidies designed to regulate demand and supply.

8. Set up mixed associations using modern and more efficient production and marketing technologies in agriculture and in the food industry. In addition to these measures, active efforts will be made to urgently introduce in Parliament some basic bills required to implement agricultural reforms: a bill on the land stock; a bill on agricultural association and cooperation, and a bill on contracting and purchasing agricultural products.

9. The peasants must begin the fall operations in earnest; we assure them that they will gain by the results of their labor in the future regardless of the implications of those bills.

We note that the wording of the last point was surprising and susceptible of undesirable interpretations.

The reactions of the Parliament members to the report and their views on the economic situation will be learned from today's debates, which promise to be very heated.

As a final conclusion on the report we want to recall the statement of Senator Teodor Nicoara, who said at the Sente plenum two days ago, "After the revolution we seemed to have only one concern: How to become more divided, how to hate each other, and how to fight among ourselves, and we forgot the main thing—how to get down to work."

* Prosecutor General Responds to Brasov Group

91BA0039B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 13 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed article: "Response by Prosecutor General Gheorghe Robu to the Memorandum of the 15 November Association of Brasov Published in ROMANIA LIBERA on 11 October 1990"]

[Text] One of the most important responsibilities assumed by the Romanian Prosecutor's Office after the victory of the December 1989 Revolution was to examine ex oficio many court decisions pronounced under the dictatorship, for the purpose of identifying cases in which judicial errors were caused by the incorrect interpretation of the law, or in which decisions were handed down without consideration of all the evidence required to establish the truth.

As an example I want to point out that prior to 16 September 1990 we adjudicated more than 388 special appeals in favor of the defendants, whereby we requested the Supreme Court of Justice to acquit 153 defendants, to provide additional evidence for 85 defendants, and to lift the security measures against 126 defendants.

It is more than obvious that in the context of the above we could not ignore the sentences handed down in connection with the events that occurred in August 1977 at the Vulcan, Lupeni, Barbateni, and Aninoasa mines, nor of course, the penal sentence No. 2823 of 3 December 1987 pronounced by the Brasov Court in connection with the events of 15 November 1987, which became indelibly etched in the national conscience as the most significant protest actions against the dictatorial system.

Under the latter decision 61 workers of Brasov were given various sentences for attack on public morals and for disrupting public order.

We viewed that decision as unjust and on 31 January 1990 we declared a special appeal, requesting the Supreme Court of Justice to acquit those sentenced.

The events of 15 November 1987 are well known.

Hoping to fully clarify the requests included in the memorandum of the 15 November Association, I will present the main considerations on which we based the special appeal of the above mentioned penal sentence.

"The examination of the file showed that the workers of the Brasov Trucks Enterprise were becoming progressively more dissatisfied with the fact that their salaries were systematically paid with delays and amounts between 200-1,000 lei were withheld from their pay under the excuse of "industrial deductions."

In the general context of a population deprived of even the most basic living conditions, of food, warmth, and electricity, this group of workers, who were summoned to work on Sunday 15 November 1987, wanted to hear explanations from the enterprise management on those paycheck deductions.

As the managers were not present, the workers appealed to their colleagues in other sections, too, and asked them to join them and to go request explanations from the competent factors of the municipal and county bodies.

On the way, the demonstrators were joined by thousands of inhabitants of Brasov Municipality, whose most basic constitutional rights were also being violated just as those of the workers of the Brasov Trucks Enterprise.

In this situation, which gained wide publicity, the court unjustifiably failed to realize that the workers' attitude was not meant as an attack on public morals or designed to cause a scandal, and thus that the norms of social coexistence were not violated, but that it merely represented the workers' protest against the dictatorship that flagrantly disregarded and violated their basic rights and freedoms.

On the other hand, we must keep in mind the fact that those of the Brasov Trucks Enterprise who were declared "hooligans" marched in work overalls and with tricolor flags, and that some of the damage caused consisted of burned portraits and "writings" of the dictator, posters and other objects dedicated to the personality cult.

Consequently, in view of all these factors, I believe that the facts recorded against the defendants evidently did not present the characteristics of an attack on public morals and order as envisaged under Article 321 paragraph 2 of the Penal Code, so that, on the basis of Articles 11, point 2, letter a, and 10, letter d, of the Code of Penal Procedure, the defendants will be acquitted of that offense."

The special appeal also criticized the decision for having violated the regulations concerning the composition of the trial panel which, in violation of the law, included, aside from the judges, seven people's assessors, placed there by the direct interference of higher party bodies in the judicial process.

Under Decision No. 171 of 23 February 1990 the Supreme Court of Justice accepted the views expressed in the special appeal and ordered the acquittal of the defendants, having judged that the actions recorded by the first instance did not constitute an offense, but "a protest against the dictatorship that disregarded and flagrantly violated basic rights and liberties."

The memorandum of the 15 November Association of Brasov requested the prosecutor general to specify that all the 61 defendants are to be classified as political prisoners.

In connection with that request, I want to point out that:

Under Decree-Law No. 3 of 4 January 1990, the National Salvation Front Council decided, among other things, to grant amnesty for all political offenses envisaged in the Penal Code and the social laws committed after 30 December 1947.

According to Article 1 of that law, the term political offenses refers to actions designed to:

a) express protest against the dictatorship and the personality cult, against terror and abuse of power by people in positions of political power;

b) promote basic human rights and liberties, secure civil and political, economic, social, and cultural rights, and eliminate discriminatory measures;

c) secure any other democratic demands.

Consequently, as one can see from examining the texts of these laws in reference to the special appeal and the decision of the Supreme Court of Justice, the request of the 15 November Association of Brasov is justified, because all the 61 workers sentenced undoubtedly fit in the category of people sentenced for political offenses.

In view of the fact that this status devolves from the provisions of the law itself, there is no need to attest to it by a court decision or other means.

I want to note that all these clarifications could have been obtained in a much more simple and direct manner if the 15 November Association had appealed directly to the Prosecutor's Office; moreover, the special appeal by which the sentencing decision was repealed came at the initiative of the Prosecutor's Office, not at the request of the 15 November Association.

If, nevertheless, there are still unclear points concerning the situation in question, the members of the 15 November Association of Brasov can approach the Prosecutor's Office any time, its doors are open to all the citizens.

The raison d'etre of this institution is precisely to defend the citizens' rights and liberties through the legal means wielded by a state of law.

* Campeanu on Mistakes, Deficiencies of Government

91BA0030A Bucharest CUVINTUL in Romanian
2-8 Oct 90 p 7

[Interview with Radu Campeanu by Tudorel Urian; place and date not given]

[Text] We are convinced that a democracy without a frank dialogue between the authorities and the opposition is much too original for Romania's present needs. We believe that an open confrontation of ideas among people genuinely interested in this country's future can be more captivating both for us and for the international community than any street hysteria. We still hope that reason will prevail over rubber clubs, Molotov cocktails, axes, stones, and bullets. We want to offer the readers another facet of our times than that shown on television. Therefore, as of this issue, we will address the same two questions to leaders of opposition parties, parliament members, and independent personalities. If our questions will prompt those currently in power to respond, we will be happy to host their views, in the conviction that the country's future itself stands to gain from this confrontation of ideas.

1. What is your criticism of Romania's current leadership?

2. What are the specific methods and means that you suggest for overcoming the present economic, social, and political crisis?

[Campeanu] 1. So far, what we accuse the government of is that it has not enacted any of the basic reform measures that could provide solutions for the current crisis. Ours is not only an economic crisis but also an intense social crisis; however, we think that the government is not addressing this social crisis, which is a truth and a reality, seriously enough. Why do we think so? Because otherwise, after close to four months, the government certainly would have courageously begun to hammer out important economic reforms, so that within one year or one and a half years, much of the unemployment in store for us—which is one of the most important forms of present and future crisis—can be resolved. What do I have in mind? The immediate establishment of a private sector. What is meant by a private sector? This is my severe criticism of the government and of the leadership in general, not only the government, namely that so far, privatization has been taken to mean only the so-called Decree No. 54 which, in my opinion, was very ill-advised and had a negative impact on the Romanian economy. People thought that privatization meant opening tiny pastry shops, little restaurants and cafes, or small beauty parlors; that's not privatization in the economic sense of the word. This kind of privatization, this miniprivatization, this caricature of privatization, is not what Romania needs! Our country needs service enterprises, commercial enterprises, and industrial enterprises; I stress, private industrial enterprises, meaning enterprises opened on the basis of private initiative with Romanian or foreign capital, that can have the broadest possible freedom of action and freedom in their economic relations with foreign factors; what I have in mind is import and export not only of capital but also of commodities and raw materials. Once and for all I hope people will understand that we will not be able to overcome our enormous economic impasse unless we immediately—and we're already lagging far behind—proceed to secure the conditions for the emergence of this kind of major private sector in Romania. Why am I saying this? Because whatever enterprises will thus be established—service, trade, or industrial enterprises—will feature two traits, two advantages so to speak: The first advantage is that they will absorb the labor force that has been laid off or is beginning to be superfluous in the existing enterprises. This is a considerable advantage, which can become effective but not immediately. That is why I said that any delay will have a very negative impact on the economy, because to produce the beneficial effect I mentioned, these enterprises need at least one to one and a half years from their establishment, from the creation of the legislation, to become effectively operational. However, if we wait another four, five, or six months to begin such reforms and if we are afraid to begin them in earnest, or to implement them in their full magnitude and truth, then we will undoubtedly prolong the crisis. That is why in my recent statements I said it was my impression that the government was managing the crisis but did not want to resolve it in some way. In my opinion, this is a mistake; it is a mistake because managing the crisis with minor measures that don't solve any of the main problems does nothing but prolong and deepen it. In other words, it makes the measures that have to be taken increasingly difficult. That's on the one hand; on the other hand, if we want the Romanian economy to take off and indeed to resume a normal production course, we must have foreign investment; but foreign investment will not be attracted merely by goodwill statements by various leaders, beginning with the president and ending with some minister. Foreign investors don't need statements, they need guarantees, and the first guarantees are legal ones, in other words, laws: intelligent laws, wise laws that guarantee freedom of movement for capital and freedom of action for economic factors and agents. But what do we see? We recently saw a bill on commercial associations discussed in Parliament, in the Chamber of Deputies; this bill should have come long ago; well, at least it's on the table now. Actually, parliamentary commissions—the economic and industrial commissions of deputies—have held many and very useful discussions on this bill. This bill was purified of very many of the marks of an obsolete, ceausist mentality, but despite all the discussions held and the plenum discussions of the Assembly of Deputies, one article, for example, was still not eliminatied: the famous Article 215, which calls for the establishment of a governmental agency to monitor foreign investments. This article is nothing but a throwback to the bureaucratic and antieconomic methods of the Ceausescu system. No need to add that during these debates in the Chamber of Deputies, some of the NSF [National Salvation Front] deputies came out with some declarations that I think are completely out of place in our democracy; they criticized both us and the Peasant Party for holding a different view of Article 215 than theirs. Here, however, we had several mistakes: First there was the political orientation mistake—a bill does not have to be unanimously voted in a parliament. The fact that a bill does not rally a unanimous vote does not constitute any attack against democracy and a democratic spirit. Secondly, our views must be heard in all freedom and should certainly not be subjected to violent reactions as it happened in the Chamber of Deputies, because such reactions only serve to detract from the value of the debates themselves. Which means that the minds of many of us are still not very clear about what privatization means in its broad sense, and about the expected contribution of foreign capital to Romania's economy. In our minds and probably in our hearts there are still reminiscences of the past that we must undoubtedly uproot, but the nostalgia is increasingly evident. This debate will indubitably be picked up by the Senate, but what many people still don't grasp very well is that whoever the foreign investors may be, when they see such an agency, i.e., such an expression of aggressive and tentacular bureaucracy, they will hesitate to invest in our country and all the investments will go to Poland and Hungary—as they do now—to Czechoslovakia, and probably to Bulgaria in the future. This is not in the interest of either the national economy or the Romanian people. What I mean to say is that the government is not yet sufficiently convinced that it must open both doors and windows to let in a healthier and freer air. We are getting half measures, although in our present situation half measures are almost useless, certainly inefficient. This is our criticism of the government today.

2. The first thing we demand of the government and the authorities in general is to tell the truth. First and foremost. The truth about the political events that have occurred and about our economic situation; the truth about the events of December, 18 February, and 13, 14, and 15 June. I said it before and I reiterate: The truth must be told, and when someone assumes a responsibility it must be carried out without any reservation. I said it before and I repeat: Democracy cannot be founded on concealment of the truth. The truth must be known. The Romanian people are a mature people; they must know exactly what their situation is, and for that the rulers are obligated to tell the truth. But the truth must be told not only in this area, but also about the economy. I want to stress that the people must be told why the commodities they need are not to be found in stores at present. Why? Why is it that at present the Romanian economy, i.e., the existing industrial structures work only partially? What are the factors responsible for these negative phenomena? They must tell us. Perhaps there are objective causes, or profound and serious reasons that require solutions which may be unpleasant to the people, but they must say so! The people must know what they have to do, must be kept up to date on the difficulties ahead, and what the government expects from them in order to overcome these difficulties. I think that telling the truth is the first condition; the second condition, as I said before, is to stop being afraid of broad and profound reforms with an eye to the future. Another thing we must stop being afraid of is that some people will get rich. Let those who work hard, show initiative, take risks, have talent and ideas get rich, because the others will become richer with them. The wealth of a nation is the sum total of the individual assets; it's certainly not the wealth envisaged in some state plans which in fact are worthless and bear no relationship to the reality. This is what I think should be done for a start. So what can the opposition do along this line? Evidently, the opposition, the parliamentary opposition as you said, is running against the NSF majority in the House and in Senate. All right, it runs against it and we have accepted the rules of the parliamentary game; but we did not accept the fact that the minority should be almost abused—as was the case in the Chamber of Deputies—for expressing views of which the NSF doesn't approve. We assume that such a reaction like that of the NSF deputies last week was merely a marginal experience in our parliamentary life. But we want not only the Parliament but the entire public to understand Romania's major needs and the need to free energies. On the other hand, we suggested establishing a structure to coordinate the opposition, which certainly does not mean that opposition parties or groups must merge. It also doesn't call for a common program for the moment. Each group that accepts the rules of the game and joins this structure, will preserve its identity; the function of such a structure is to allow for systematic and permanent consultations among all the member groups on topical issues concerning the country's life. I can give you two examples that come to mind. For example, the law of the press. According to some authoritative opinions, there should not be a law of the press as such, in which case it is very probable that we will be called upon to support the existence only of some constitutional provisions to guarantee the freedom of the press, rather than a law as is the case in other countries. Other countries do have such laws: France for example has one dating back to Napoleon III, and it's not too hot, I saw it in action. England has a better, more recent law, while other countries don't have any, only constitutional provisions. So, if this is the wish of the majority of journalists, i.e., of the professionals, we should accept what they say and not introduce a press bill; on the other hand, the constitutional commission should discuss the inclusion in the Constitution of the two or three articles required to guarantee the freedom and responsibilities of the press. I think this is one issue that should be discussed in this kind of coordinating structure. The second example is the issue of the printing monopoly in Romania, which is seriously infringing on the freedom of expression, that is, on the freedom of the press. Because once we agree that we have a formal freedom of the press, you or others may say whatever you want in your newspaper; at the same time, however, you depend on distribution, which is carried out by the Press Circulation Office, more often than not badly, and deliberately so. You also depend on a newsprint distribution that is very unreliable and is obviously organized along subjective criteria (we were hurt by this at VIITORUL: Twice we couldn't come out, almost three days in a row, because of the alleged shortage of newsprint, while other newspapers, naturally the ones close to the NSF and the government, did appear). And then there is the matter of printshop space. There are no printing facilities available. Well, if there aren't, then why don't you allow imports of presses, why don't you permit and enable the creation of joint, stock-holding, or limited associations that can print newspapers and books. So this is a second issue that can be discussed. A third issue is that of peasants' property. For a long time now the government has been hesitating to hammer out and establish a law on farming property. The government wants—it has a yet undefined intention—to elude this question by talking about 50-year land leases, according to the Soviet system proposed by Gorbachev. This sytem, however, doesn't work in Romania. We, the Liberal Party—and I think everyone in the opposition agrees with us—defend and demand that the peasants should own their land; other regulations or measures should be taken in conjunction with this form of ownership, so that it can function satisfactorily, but the right of ownership must be developed, established, and recognized. These are three things that I would suggest be discussed by this structure, and I'm sure there will be many more.

Premier, Ministers Discuss Price Liberalization

AU0111211190

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 2020 GMT on 31 October, instead of the usual "24 Hours" program, relays a recording of a televised discussion earlier today on issues of liberalization of prices. The following officials participated: Prime Minister Petre Roman, Anton Vatasescu, minister of state in charge of industrial and trade activities, Eugen Dijmarescu, in charge of economic guidance, and Finance Minister Teodor Stolojan.

At the beginning of the 38-minute discussion an unidentified moderator is heard asking the ministers what their opinion is about what can be called "the highest price increase of the century in Romania."

Prime Minister Roman is heard saying that "price liberalization is a fundamental instrument for our economy and it is the essential instrument to pull Romania's economy out of the current crisis. Until all of us understand this, misinterpretations and ill-willed interpretations will appear. The great majority of questions regarding price liberalization indicate the fear of facing the rapid increase in prices. The current situation of Romanian industry, however, is seriously affected by the lack of material resources." Roman says that only the old regime can be blamed for the current situation, and the current government's task is to make industry face reality and live up to its obligations. He calls the present time "a crucial moment in our society. This is the most radical change Romanian society has had to face in the economic area since the December revolution. Now is the time to implement this radical change because the experience of all the other countries which have gone through transition periods, just as we have done, clearly show that prolonging this issue only leads to more serious results."

The moderator asks Minister Vatasescu about the effect of setting new prices on certain enterprises. Vatasescu is heard saying that all enterprises "have two months to carry out all the required calculations." He also says that the way in which the new prices are edtablished will be checked. Vatasescu tries to allay the fears of those enterprises, saying that if they do not know how to fix the new prices they will be taught to do so; however, their prices should reflect the real value of their products. Some of these prices will have to be negotiated. Vatasescu gives some examples of correlation between the raw material prices and the price of the completed product. Several voices are heard talking about this issue, about imports of raw materials, and real costs of raw materials.

Roman is heard saying that "costs and consumption are very high and have no connection with what is going on in the international arena," "Today, however, Romania is capable of assuming responsibility for its situation and there is a human potential which enables Romania to become competitive internationally." He says that certain enterprises have already changed their structures in accordance with the requirements of the market economy. He also speaks about the transportation sector, which is a very expensive sector and deplores the fact that in many industrial sectors there is no sense of responsibility.

The subjects of electric energy and fuel prices and social protection measures are also discussed by all the participants. When asked about the situation of fuel and foodstuffs, Minister Stolojan says that the price of certain foodstuffs will not be changed until January 1991, and that people will receive a certain degree of compensation for the new prices as of January 1991. He says that he does not see the possibility of disruptions in supplies.

Prime Minister Roman is heard saying that the government has worked under great pressure; however, the situation had to be correctly examined and real solutions had to be proposed. The questions which are raised in the media demonstrate that people are "totally unaware of the real situation of the economic mechanism." He explains the difficult job of the government in finding solutions to pull Romania out of the current deadlock. Roman expresses his belief that a rather difficult period is in Romania's future. He says that now, however, is the opportune moment for such a change and "now is better than later." He reiterates the fact that the "vital needs of the population will not be affected."

* Campeanu Urges Accelerated Economic Reforms

91BA0040B Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 13 Oct 90 pp 1, 4

[Radu Campeanu comments on government's report: "The People Must Not Suffer Any Longer!"]

[Text] I think that for the first time we have heard, on behalf of the Romanian people, a true report. After 43 years of lies this is something very great and very good. It is the truth, but a grim truth. As this honest report showed, the situation is very serious. But its seriousness cannot stop us from thinking about the responsibility for the 43 years of communism that brought the country to this situation. It is almost inconceivable that Romania should have to import meat, milk, and eggs to feed its people. It is hard to imagine how we got to this situation. We fully understand the present difficulties of the government. Anyone else in power would probably have had the same problems. But there is something we would have done. We would have implemented the reforms that we consider necessary more quickly and more boldly than you. Because as you said, in your proposals you also request that the reforms be stepped up. We have been asking that for months! I don't understand why you request it, when you are the ones expected to do implement them. These things should have been done earlier, so that their positive results could have begun to appear in perhaps one year. You should have started earlier and with greater courage! Your report is full of very interesting figures. But these figures don't mean much to simple people like us. Why? Because naturally, your point of reference was, as I said, last year's situation; but the situation last year was utterly deplorable. Aside from the indexes you supplied in your report and the estimates for the second semester of this year, I would have liked to hear some estimates of what we need, that is, of the quantities we have to have to meet consumer needs. It would have been more useful to us if you had told us how many tons of food, in other words, what quantities we need to cover consumer requirements. Then we would have certainly have had sounder points of reference. And, why not say it, along with us, the people would have gained a greater feeling of confidence. And if we do not have the means to provide these quantities, we'll have to import. Tough, but necessary. I think that the Parliament should be alerted to give its approval for the government to open a line of credits even abroad, so that the people will have what they need to survive this winter. There's no reason for us to be apprehensive about loans. How will we repay such large amounts of dollars? From our own work, from the work of the coming years. Only Ceausescu was afraid of loans. He took out loans to repay them at the expense of the Romanian people, as we saw. All the countries in the world, without exception, have debts. The main thing is to know how to repay them: intelligently, without ruining the country's economy, and without destroying the population! This is your role! But it is ours, too! Consequently, I suggest that we boldly do everything possible to import everything we need so that the people can stop suffering!

(The leader of the National Liberal Party then examined the grim situation regarding energy supplies, and suggested solutions to mend it. He briefly listed the factors responsible for the dramatic drop in production and highlighted the reasons for the fall in labor productivity.)

You, too—not you personally and perhaps not only the government—are responsible for what I would call the salary demagoguery that began on 1 January. Let's look things squarely in the face, minister. Salaries cannot be paid at any enterprise in the world if they are not covered by an appropriate production. The prime minister was correctly talking about work ethics. But there is also such a thing as salary ethics and balance. I am convinced that most of the Romanian workers are aware of their professional duties, but we don't have to encourage tendencies—natural and human as they may be—to think that one can get paid and have an income without making the necessary and appropriate efforts! This is what you have been doing since 1 January. You probably realize, too, that that was a mistake. You certainly realize it now; you are backtracking, and justly so. But do it boldly, without reservations, because if you don't show courage the Romanian economy will never recover from the present impasse. And there is something else that we strongly demand of you: Open wide the windows and let in, on the one hand, private initiative, and at the same time, allow our enterprises to be bolstered and to make faster progress through the intervention of foreign capital and sophisticated foreign technologies... After the war Federal Germany was in a worse situation than we are now, but it arrived to where it is today not only thanks to the work of the German people, but also thanks to the extraordinary contribution of foreign capital. And no one said that the country was sold out to foreigners for it.

Mr. Radu Campeanu said in concluding:

"I had also hoped to see in your report something about the quantities of humanitarian aid that came into the country, so that we can learn what happened with them. We would have liked to know what percentage of the figures cited in the report consisted of such aid."

The clarity of the speech will allow every citizen to appreciate the honesty, realism, and clear-sightedness of the program proposed by the National Liberal Party to the country long before the 20 May elections.

* CADA Members Reply to 'Slanderous' Articles

91BA0039A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 10 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by members of Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army, CADA: "Who Is Trampling on Military Dignity and Honor?"]

[Text] In view of the fact that a number of slanderous and vilifying articles have appeared in various publications about the activities of CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army] and its members, signed by reserve officers, civilian journalists, or unidentified groups—some even in the name of CADA itself—and to establish the truth, exercise the right to respond, and correctly inform the cadres and public opinion, we deem the following elucidations necessary:

1. Although neither the government nor the Ministry of National Defense [MND] have made any decision on disbanding CADA (as it has been alleged), considering that the communiques signed by Mr. Petre Roman and the Higher Military Council legally do not constitute regulations or decisions, CADA members, in a show of discipline, ceased any actions designed to continue the process of democratization of the Army. The press statements made on CADA's activities prior to 14 June 1990 were prompted by unfounded and tendentious attacks on CADA and were aimed at correctly informing public and military opinion on the proposals and measures initiated by CADA, which cannot be described as "destabilizing for the country and the institutions of the Army" because they had the support and acquiescence of the minister of national defense and the prime minister. As for being rejected by "the overwhelming majority of the military personnel and public opinion," that can be judged by everyone's "satisfaction" with the manner in which the points of our 12 February Appeal were (not) fulfilled.

2. The slanderous allegations made about CADA are all the more reprehensible as they cannot be attributed to ignorance, but to a deliberate and tendentious distortion of the reality.

All the actions carried out by CADA after 14 June 1990 were in line with the right to respond and the freedom of expression of ideas and views, and were a manifestation of the gains won by our society after 22 December 1990. In fact, some CADA proposals (recalling to base the tanks and armored vehicles stationed at the Romanian Television and in the Victoria Square; examining the situation of war veterans and people wounded in the Revolution; refraining from involving the Army in street clashes; removing Major General Chitac as minister of the interior, etc.), which at the time drew vehement criticism from some "sound thinkers," were then adopted by the government and Parliament.

3. CADA is not an organization, association, or body; upon its establishment on 12-14 February 1990 at the Victoria Palace it could have registered legally, but it did not wish to create a parallel program to the military organization. However, its strength lies in the ideas of truth and justice, dignity and honor that it promotes and that are shared by the great majority of Army cadres, even if not overtly and formally, in view of the fact that there does not exist any "democratic framework of manifestation" (as the communique of the Higher Military Council claimed). These ideals cannot be suppressed by any order because they are not slogans, but objectives equally desired by and valid for one and all. CADA will disband itself once the points included in the 12 February Appeal have been fulfilled, after meetings with all the signatories of the minutes of the 14 February meeting between a military delegation and Prime Minister Petre Roman. Subsequent activities will be carried out within the democratic associations established in keeping with the draft statute submitted to the MND leadership, adopted, and amended by the specific modifications that will arise in the wake of its implementation.

CADA never attempted to "introduce democracy" into the Army, but struggled to democratize this institution, something that requires its reorganization upon democratic bases, improving its working style and interpersonal relations, improving the organizational structures, andpromoting cadres and resolving problems on the basis of scientific criteria, steps that do not affect the principle of the chain of command.

4. All the actions initiated against CADA activities and its members were motivated by apparent and superficially examined reasons; they followed a gradual progression and finally culminated in not completely justified retirement of cadres, intimidation, threats, and unfounded accusations before the Higher Military Council. All this occurred after CADA refused to cooperate with the new body that has been representing itself to the military institution as the defender of justice, dignity, and truth, the so-called GAMA [Action Group for the Modernization of the Army]. This group claims to its credit a "tradition of anti-Ceausescu struggle that began in 1970, 20 years of underground experience, and dissatisfaction with the current socioeconomic and political situation of the country." However, in 1970 our country was going through a period of recognized development and prosperity; that was also the time of the overt break with Moscow, especially after 1968. Consequently, the only ones who could have been dissatisfied with the situation then were those who were pro-Moscow and wished to topple the dictatorship with the help of our eastern neighbors. Did that objective include freedom from communism, democracy, and genuine freedom? Among other things, that group struggled against the dictatorship's nomenklatura of the past few years. Does that not mean that they agree with Point 8 of the Proclamation of Timisoara? In that case, why did they (GAMA members) accuse the CADA members of allegedly agreeing with that Proclamation, if not to mislead the authorities elected on 20 May 1990 and discredit CADA, precisely to disguise their real activities and frank intentions? This makes any explanation superfluous as to why certain military cadres in the MND leadership will not agree with Point 2 of the 12 February Appeal: Because it directly concerns them and because, were it to be implemented, GAMA would be left without strong support among the military leadership. In point of fact, upon his retirement, General Militaru, the former minister of national defense, allegedly suggested Major General Vasile Ionel as his successor and Major General Logofatu as Gen. Ionel's replacement. In view of these facts and others that we will yet present to the public, the following questions arise: Whose activities should be examined by the Military Court? Who is trampling on military dignity and honor and the fundamental democratic principles applicable to the military institution?

'Surprise,' 'Anger' Over U.S. Elections Statement

LD0111223790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2038 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has expressed great surprise at the statement from the [U.S.] State Department which gives instructions on carrying out elections in Yugoslavia.

The statement, in a manner which is hard to believe, enters areas within the exclusive domain of the top representative bodies of the Yugoslav Federation and the republics, and suggests solutions which are already largely regulated by law.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs spokesman stressed that it is well known that the Yugoslav Government has from the outset advocated that the principles—which the State Department is suggesting in a strange manner—should be applied and that within this framework the multiparty free elections, with full observance of democratic norms, should represent one of the essential components of the aims, policies, and involvement of the government.

The content and the tone of this statement from the State Department representative are hard to reconcile with the numerous statements of the top representatives and institutions of the United States which support the stability of Yugoslavia and its unity, territorial integrity and reforms within the framework of the democratic transformation that is being achieved throughout the country.

The Yugoslav Government will, in keeping with the assurance it has given from the beginning, engage itself with the aim of observing the provisions of the CSCE documents on foreign observers at elections on condition of their noninterference, as indicated in these documents. The statement of the State Department is all the more surprising since in certain parts it oversteps the framework of the mechanisms envisaged by the CSCE.

Official circles in Yugoslavia expect that the U.S. side will find a way to remove, in the spirit and interests of Yugoslav-U.S. relations, the negative repercussions of this statement, which has rightly evoked the anger of the Yugoslav public, and to reaffirm its confidence in the democratic transformation under way in Yugoslavia.

Jovic Receives German Bundestag Delegation

LD0111195690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslav state Presidency President Borisav Jovic today received the German Bundestag foreign policy committee delegation, headed by its chairman Hans Stercken. Jovic expressed hope that the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia will be succesfully settled, through legal institutions and democratic processes. He underscored the importance of the forthcoming multi-party elections in those republics where they have not yet been held, for the overall settlement of the political situation in the country.

Answering a question from the German delegation, Jovic said that all foreign observers would be welcome to monitor the elections, as in accordance with international norms. This is also in keeping with Yugoslavia's traditional openness and readiness for communication on the basis of equality, mutual respect and noninterference, Jovic said.

Council of Europe Membership Discussed

LD0111200490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will do everything necessary to fulfill the conditions for its admission to the Council of Europe as a full member, as Yugoslav parliamentarians set out today in the talks held here with a delegation of the Foreign Relations Committee of the German Bundestag, which arrived on a three-day visit to Yugoslavia yesterday.

The two parliamentary delegations were headed by President of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Foreign Policy Committee Aleksandar Simovic and his German counterpart, Dr Hans Stercken.

Simovic set out that Yugoslavia had fulfilled the basic conditions for admission to the Council of Europe, and, in that context, said that a multi-party system and free elections had been introduced in Yugoslavia, that Yugoslavia had shifted to market economy and was ready to sign the European Convention on Human Rights.

The German parliamentarians set out that they would like to see Yugoslavia in the Council of Europe as soon as possible, but warned that things would not go easy. They underscored in that context the problem of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, that is, as they said, human rights violations in that province.

President of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Commission for Legislation and Law Budimir Kosutic, for his part, recalled that the new Constitution of the Republic of Serbia defined the republic as a state of all citizens and not a national state. Kosutic said that Serbia had assumed all the rights and duties from the European convention and included them in its Constitution, and that it had given broader rights to national minorities than the majority of countries in Europe and the world.

"We are ready to resolve all problems in Kosovo through a democratic dialogue. We refuse to talk only about Kosovo's secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and the creation of another Albanian state," Kosutic said.

FEC Data Show Large Rise in Albanian Refugees

LD0111143990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—According to figures announced by the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] information secretariat, 569 Albanian citizens fled from Albania to Yugoslavia in the period from January to the beginning of October this year. As a comparison, during the whole of last year 170 Albanian citizens escaped to Yugoslavia while the figure for August and September of this year is 368.

The most frequent location used for escaping is the Yugoslav-Albanian border in Montenegro (345), followed by the border in Macedonia (171), and Kosovo (47). Six Albanian citizens sought refuge in our embassy in Tirana. They were subsequently given official permission to leave for Yugoslavia.

In accordance with the international convention on the status of refugees and the protocol on refugee status, the refugees from Albania have been provided with appropriate accomodation and their fate is being decided by the competent federal organs in cooperation with the UN high commissioner for refugees.

Out of the total number, 59 refugees have so far been allowed to settle in the West—in most cases in the United States; 221 people have been given permission for resettlement in the United States. The requests of others are being processed by the UN high commissioner for refugees.

FEC To Access Legality of Slovene, Serb Laws

LD0211105190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0916 GMT 2 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Nov (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] decided at last night's session to begin proceedings in the Constitutional Court to assess the constitutionality and legality of the laws and other general acts adopted in the assemblies and executive councils of Slovenia and Serbia, which regulate issues relating to the Yugoslav market, foreign trade and customs, sales tax, etc., as well as of decrees of the Croatian government regulating ownership relations.

The statement from the session stresses that the FEC asked the federal organs of administration to increase the supervision by their inspection and other services of the implementation of federal regulations and to report criminal and economic irregularities in all cases where the federal regulations are violated. The FEC will ask the federal public prosecutor to take steps so that the competent public prosecutor's office acts efficiently and legally to prevent and prosecute violations of federal law.

In the statement from last night's session, the FEC also expresses its determination that no single federal unit should be allowed to withhold and spend funds arbitrarily which belong to the federal budget. In this way, it will prevent the blocking of the execution of vital functions of the federation.

The introduction of any importation barriers, taxes, and duties other than by the organs of the federation is illegal and represents a flagrant violation of the regulations of GATT, of which Yugoslavia is a member, the statement from the session of the FEC, presided over by Ante Markovic, says among other things.

Government Submits Draft Newspaper Bill

LD0111200390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today submitted to federal parliament a draft law on informing, under which all natural and juristic persons are allowed to publish newspapers. According to the draft law, no socio-political community or organ is authorized to give or deny approval for informing the public. Foreigners will not be allowed to found newspapers, but will be able to own 49 percent of a Yugoslav newspapers.

The law envisages 1,000-10,000 dinar fines (one [U.S.] dollar - 12 dinars) or 60 days imprisonment for editors-in-chief of newspapers whose program orientation is aimed at toppling the constitutional order.

The editor-in-chief who refuses to publish a denial of an article which appeared in his newspaper or publishes the denial together with the paper's commentary will be fined from 1,000 to 10,000 dinars or 30 days imprisonment.

Republics Fail To Pay Development Contributions

LD0111140790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—In May of this year, the Yugoslav republics and provinces owed to the federal fund for developing the country's underdeveloped regions 2.5 billion dinars (approximately 228 million dollars), inclusive of 950 million dinars outstanding from last year, the Yugoslav Secretariat for Information said today.

The statement was prompted by criticism of the government that it does not honour its obligations to the underdeveloped regions and the fund.

The Republic of Serbia (with the exclusion of its autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo) was the only one to meet its last year's obligations to the federal fund, while the other republics have failed to pay either their last year's or this year's dues. The Republic of Croatia owed most—735 million dinars, closely followed by Slovenia with 602 million dinars, the secretariat informed.

The federal government had originally proposed to the Yugoslav parliament that last year's debts be paid in six equal monthly instalments by the end of October, but this was not accepted, the statement said. The government has since come up with another proposal—that the republics' maturities for last and this year be paid in 12 installments. This proposal, too, had been rejected.

The latest effort of the Yugoslav Government to collect at least one-sixth of the dues by blocking the budgets of the biggest debitors—the Republic of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia and the Province of Kosovo—has also fallen through, stressed the Federal Secretariat for Information in its statement.

TV Stations Urged To End Boycott of Yutel

LD0111185990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1602 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The Zagreb-based Party of Yugoslavs today urged the Yugoslav TV stations to end the boycott of the special federal government TV programme, Yutel.

The programme of reforms of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic enjoys undivided recognition both at home and abroad, as the Party of Yugoslavs sets out in today's appeal, in which it calls on all TV centres in the country to enable the broadcasting of Yutel.

"The government TV channel" was inaugurated two weeks ago in the TV centre of Sarajevo, Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the other TV centres in the country refused to broadcast it. The purpose of Yutel is to provide an objective picture of the developments in the country, in place of nationally coloured information.

The Zagreb-based Party of Yugoslavs says in the appeal that the TV programme in the country has for years been "atomized into national programmes of the elite powerholders in individual republics."

It calls on the republican information ministers to put an end to the "psychosis of fear they are instilling into the minds of viewers with their TV creations."

The Zagreb-based Party of Yugoslavs recalls that no country can call itself democratic unless it guarantees to all its citizens the freedom of speech, assembly and expression and unless it enables a free movement of persons and ideas. It urges editors to take a "civilizational step forward and respect the human and constitutional right to objective information."

New TV Channel Outlined

LD0111190390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The new TV channel Yutel, set up by Prime Minister Ante Markovic's goverment, will operate as a shareholder's society. An analysis of Yutel's program, presented in Federal Assembly by the Yugoslav Secretariat for Information today, says that the government will provide 51 percent of necessary capital and has invited other Yugoslav TV centers and foreign firms to invest in Yutel.

The analysis also says that 3.6 million dinars (1 DM [Deutsche mark]- 7 dinars) have been invested in Yutel and that it is the first TV company in Yugoslavia which will cover all parts of the country. As of next fall, Yutel's programs are to be broadcast via satellite.

The Yugoslav Information Secretariat said that Yutel would not be financed either from the budget or subscription, but will operate solely on a commercial basis and acquire most of its income from foreign commercials.

Yutel's basic principles forbid political propaganda of parties, organizations or their programs on a commercial basis.

The analysis also says that Yutel's editors and journalists are independent in performing their professional activities, and their political beliefs and allegiance to political or other organizations should not influence the carrying out of their duties.

Emergency People's Radical Party Congress Held

LD0211020190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2233 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The People's Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka] has preserved its unity and is still headed by Veljko Guberina.

This is the main conclusion of this party's emergency congress held in Novi Sad tonight. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Provides Data on Military Aid to Kosovo

LD0111145790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—In the period between January and July of this year about 3,000 militiamen, various equipment, and a considerable amount of weapons were sent by Vojvodina to Kosovo as assistance to the internal affairs organs of the province, the Vojvodina Government says in a report designated for Vojvodina Assembly delegates.

It is stressed in the report that in order to counter terrorist activities and the smuggling of arms and explosives into the country the Vojvodina internal affairs organs have stepped up measures to curtail or uncover hostile activities by Albanian nationalists and separatists and their collusion with Albanian hostile emigres and the Albanian intelligence service.

Serbia Inaugurates Economic Protection Measures

LD0111184990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The economic measures for protecting the economy of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, adopted by the Serbian parliament a week ago, went in effect today.

The new measures will not cause a rise in prices of imported goods and products from the republics of Croatia and Slovenia, Serbian Finance Secretary Jovan Zebic told reporters today.

It remains for Slovenian and Croatian enterprises to decide whether to increase the prices of their goods, since one of the measures from the package sets greater taxes for signboards, business space and real estate, Zebic said.

The Serbian parliament explained that the measures were not revanchism, but necessary to "alleviate the negative consequences of the erroneous policies of the federal government" and protect the Serbian economy from "attempts by some republics to put it in an even more unequal position."

There have been no official reactions of federal bodies to Serbia's protective measures, Zebic said, adding that the federation did not meet its 2.6-billion-dinar (seven dinars equal one Deutschemark) obligations to Serbia in the January-September period this year.

Slovenia and Croatia, as well as some opposition parties in Serbia, have criticized Serbia for introducing confederalism in practice while defending the federal concept in principle. Serbia, however, has kept its measures "frozen" until today, inviting the northwestern republics to give up their confederal demands.

Serbian President Milosevic Makes Visit to Bor

Tours Collective, Speaks on Federation

AU0111165290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Report on President of Serbian Presidency Slobodan Milosevic's visit to Bor, by Brana Filipovic and Momcilo Boskovic, in Bor on 1 November—live or recorded]

[Text] During his visit to the largest Bor collective, the copper smeltery and refinery, Milosevic expressed particular interest in the ecological problems and the health of the people working under most difficult conditions. During the talk held beside blazing furnaces, workers asked whether there are going to be dismissals, unemployment, and low personal incomes. Milosevic replied that large systems like Bor, and not only they, cannot and must not play with the workers' existence.

There was a cordial welcome and [word indistinct] talks in the Veliki Krivalj Mine, too. President Milosevic was informed that Bor is having a record production this year, the highest during almost 90 years of its existence and work.

Addressing the Bor workers, Slobodan Milosevic said the following: Everybody supports changes today. Nobody would like the present situation to remain. Serbia's fate is in the hands of its citizens, Milosevic pointed out. This is why I do not at all think that any reasonable and democratically oriented citizen can harbor any hesitation about such an orientation. For if we had any such suspicions, we would doubt our own people's ability to survive, Milosevic pointed out and went on to say the following:

[Begin Milosevic recording] I am saying this because all citizens of Serbia should know that the arrival of destructive and primitive forces on the political scene can only make our efforts in realizing the economic program difficult. The possible reasoning that this only means that people are entering the political scene and wanting to express themselves, will find it hard to survive in both a political and ethical sense. People did appear on the scene spontaneously and en masse when one needed to establish the territorial and political integrity of Serbia and when one needed to stop terror in Kosovo. Today, however, the only thing that frequently appears on the scene is the bare power struggle. Those individuals and groups who were sitting hidden in a mouse hole during the great battle for the Eighth Session [of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia in September 1987], for Kosovo, and for Serbia's integrity are also on the political scene today. [end recording]

Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency, also spoke on Yugoslavia's future.

[Begin Milosevic recording] The danger of Yugoslavia falling apart is imminent. Serbia is in favor of Yugoslavia as a federal community for many reasons. First, because there are Serbs living all over Yugoslavia and because they are determined to live in one state. The peaceful, democratic, and just road to achieving that end is a Yugoslav federation, a state in which nations and people are equal. Along this road of peace and democracy we are going to fight for solving the Serbian national question in Yugoslavia reasonably and determinedly [razlozno i uporno].

We are not going to permit violence against the parts of the Serbian people living outside Serbia. However, if there are forces ready even for such moves, they themselves will have to bear responsibility for the consequences they will face in that case. Simply put: Nobody can perpetrate such a violence against the Serbian people.

During its history, the Serbian people has invested much in the formation of Yugoslavia. It is natural and logical that it can hardly accept that this investment and effort flow down the troubled waters. Serbia is in favor of a federal community also because progressive forces in Serbia and progressive people in Serbia are convinced that Yugoslavia as a federal state is in the interest of the majority of Yugoslav citizens; because such a state can ensure them peace, prosperity, and independence in particular. We shall also respect the right of other Yugoslav peoples to decide about themselves by themselves alone, even if it is in the way that is not in conformity with the stands of our republic. Every people has the right to its own road, even when others consider that road to be wrong.

This is why we would like to find ourselves on the road toward Yugoslavia as a federal community with those Yugoslav peoples who want to live together in peace and harmony. After all, peace and harmony are conditions for the prosperity of both Serbia and Yugoslavia, and we should together strive to preserve them for a better life for all of us and our children. [end recording]

Slobodan Milosevic devoted part of his speech to economic problems stressing in particular that works on the future Belgrade-Budapest-Vienna road are beginning next week.

Touching upon the latest economic measures that have caused great fuss, Milosevic said that Serbia will respect all federal regulations if others respect them.

While we are reporting this, Slobodan Milosevic is visiting miners of the Bor mine.

Discusses Serb Respect for Federal Laws

LD0111185490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Bor, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic today said that Serbia would respect federal regulations if the other republics and the federal bodies, themselves, did so too.

Speaking to workers of the mining and smelting complex in Bor, a town in eastern Serbia, Milosevic said that the package of economic measurs recently adopted by Serbia, which had been criticized in other parts of the country, had introduced extra taxes on goods coming from the very Yugoslav republics which "do not respect federal regulations."

Milosevic set out that Serbia, which he said was taking big strides in reforms, could not be a part of ill-advised experiments, experiments "in the spirit of some kind of primitive liberalism, which the developed capitalist countries have long since forgotten."

Milosevic said that a road to a (?modern) and developed society was incompatible with the mystical messages which circulated in some parts of Serbia like ghosts of the past and which were offered to the Serbian people by "various false prophets and madmen" as "a guarantee of the future."

Milosevic said that "destructive and primitive forces on the political scene in Serbia only impede the implementation of the economic programme," and qualified as ethically and politically unjustifiable the argument that what was happening was only that the people wanted to express themselves on the political stage.

Milosevic said that the people were spontaneously and on a large-scale active on the political stage when the territorial and political integrity of Serbia had to be established and the terror in Kosovo stopped. He said that today, however, only a "naked power struggle" was under way on that political stage.

Three years ago, when Milosevic came to head the Serbian communists, many mass rallies were held in the republic, at which demands were raised for an end to the "genocide against the Serbian people in the province of Kosovo (a part of Serbia)" and support was lent to the territorial unity of the republic and its new leadership.

Milosevic [words indistinct] was for Yugoslavia as a federation, among other (?reasons) because Serbs live across the country, and, in that context, set out that Serbia would not permit violence against Serbs living outside it. Milosevic underscored that Serbia would respect the right of the other Yugoslav nations themselves to decide their future and that it would strive to find itself "on the same road as the other, Yugoslav nations which want to live together."

Serb Party Leader Accuses Police, Army of Abuse

LD0111165190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Police and Army are detaining and abusing activists of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS], SDP leader for the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic told a news conference here today.

Police have already set a deadline to several activists to quit the SDP, threatening with reprisals, Karadzic said, adding that he had doubts that elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which are to be held by the end of this month, would be democratic.

The SDP rallies a number of Serbs in multi-national Bosnia- Hercegovina. Serbs make up 32 percent of the population in Bosnia- Hercegovina, Moslems around 40 percent and Croats some 17 percent.

Karadzic sharply condemned the stands of the Bosnia-Hercegovina assembly about the settlement of the constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia, saying that this republic had gone the furthest in breaking up the country.

The republican assembly said on Tuesday [30 October] that if Yugoslavia could not be preserved on democratic foundations, Bosnia-Hercegovina should organize itself as an independent and sovereign state.

The Serbian people do not recognize a solution under which Yugoslavia legally does not exist, Karadzic said.

The Serbian National Council, which the SDP recently informed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, will oppose the implementation of solutions proposed by the republican Assembly.

Series of Serb Preelection Radio Programs Begins

AU0111205890

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 1 November at 0930 GMT and at 1600 GMT jointly with Novi Sad, Pristina, Belgrade 202, and Serbian Radio Network carries programs presenting the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights in Yugoslavia, first in the series entitled "Democratic Elections in Serbia in 1990" meant to present Serbian parties as part of the election campaign.

The program carried at 0930 lasts 30 minutes and features Tomislav Krsmanovic, secretary general of the party, who answers questions read by an announcer. He is first asked to explain what the movement is and what its aims are. Krsmanovic says that "the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights is a political party, the party of human rights, and its basic aims are as follows: Above all, the protection of the citizens who are victims of human rights violations, the announcement of the situation of human rights, making citizens aware of the fact that they should demand rights to which they are entitled by law, (?training), and investigation of the position of human rights, as well as various other measures for furthering human rights in our society."

Further on, Krsmanovic says that his party is being confused with the Human Rights Forum of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia which has stopped work recently.

Replying to the question on whether the party will participate in the coming elections, Krsmanovic says that in their opinion "the elections will not be held democratically," and says that they "will run in the elections if other parties do the same. If they do not, we will not run, because we think that it would be the best to boycott the elections."

Krsmanovic then goes on to speak about the history of the party, its activities that make it different from many other parties which also advocate human rights protection, as well as its views on ecology.

The program at 1600 GMT lasts one hour and consists of a talk between an unidentified moderator and members of the Movement for the Protection of Human Rights, Tomislav Krsmanovic and members of the party's council, Dragan Stefanovski, Petar Bjelanovic, and Zoran Nedic. After Krsmanovic repeats some of the points he presented in the morning program, Zoran Nedic elaborates on the party's principles based on the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Further on, Petar Bjelanovic speaks on the party's views on the national question and political and state setup and says that "the form of the social setup should be chosen by peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia in a democratic and civilized way in the spirit of international law" and that "apart from the equality of federal units, one would also guarantee the equality of citizens as individuals." Zoran Nedic then presents the party's economic program and after a two-minute music break Petar Bjelanovic speaks on the party's social policy, Dragan Stefanovski on environmental protection, and Krsmanovic on what he expects the life to be like after the elections.

Six More Parties Officially Registered in Serbia

LD0111204790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Six more political parties have been registered in Serbia, and their representatives will be handed the official documents at the Republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration tomorrow.

These are the Party of Private Businessmen [Stranka Samostalnih Privrednika "Za.P.I.S"] of Belgrade; the Democratic Movement of Women [Demokratski Pokret Zena] of Kragujevac; the Party of the Serbian Peasants' Union [Stranka Saveza Seljaka Srbije] of Belgrade; the Party of Independent Democrats of Serbia [Stranka Samostalnih Demokrata Srbije] of Nis; the Women's Party [Zenska Stranka] of Belgrade; and the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia in Serbia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije u Srbiji], also of Belgrade. With their registration in the "Party Register" these parties have also secured the right to take part in the forthcoming multiparty elections in Serbia. There are now 45 political parties active in Serbia, including those registered earlier.

Applications from an additional three parties are still being considered at the Republican Secretariat for Justice and Administration. These are the "Free Serbia" Serbian Party [Srpska Stranka "Slobodna Srbija"]; the Social-Democratic Party of Yugoslavia [Socijaldemokratska Partija Jugoslavije]; and the Ravna Gora movement, the Yugoslav Democratic Community [Jugoslovenska Demokratska Zajednica].

Mesic Stresses Market Tools in Economic Activity

LD0111141890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2343 GMT 31 Oct 90

[Text] Nova Gradiska, 31 Oct (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the town's 240th anniversary today Nova Gradiska municipal Assembly awarded Stjepan Mesic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, the honorary citizen charter.

In the morning Stjepan Mesic held talks with local businessmen and members of the municipal government concerning economic problems and difficulties which the town has been experiencing. Mesic stressed the need to restructure the economy and for more consistency in implementing long-term economic policy measures and adopting market criteria in economic activity. The pace at which this is being done, he stressed, is still too slow due to the fact that the majority of regulations are still in the hands of the Federal Executive Council. New measures designed to improve the current state of affairs are however expected soon.

Later on in the town's central park Mesic addressed a group of several thousand people. He spoke about the current political situation in both Croatia and the country with special emphasis on the situation in the Knin region. He dismissed views that the Serbian population is being threatened. He reiterated that the only way out of the current crisis in the country is through democratic elections in other republics and absolute political peace.

People must be guaranteed better living conditions and higher income. For this we need foreign capital because there is not enough money in the country for it. To achieve this we must create such political conditions in Yugoslavia which together with appropriate tax regulations will stimulate foreign investment, Mesic stressed.

Macedonia's Gosev Criticizes Foreign Minister

AU0111120990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Oct 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Criticism of Loncar and Vajgl"]

[Text] Strumica—Petar Gosev, president of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation, has criticized the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, for, in his opinion, failing to sufficiently energetically raise the Macedonian issue at meetings of Balkan countries.

Speaking in Strumica, at the promotion of the election manifesto of the League of Communists of Macedonia-Party for Democratic Transformation, Gosev talked about the last meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of Balkan countries, which was held in Tirana.

In front of several thousand members and supporters of the party, guests from other political parties, and citizens of the Strumica commune, to whom he spoke about the current political situation and the party's program, Gosev stressed that "we do not want to buy our peace and the peace of others by canceling our sovereignty and canceling the rights of our brothers by birth in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. Therefore, I am saying to Mr. Loncar and Mr. Vajgl that they are not our representatives and friends if they are scared of or are not interested in energetically raising the Macedonian issue among Balkan leaders."

Macedonian Party Condemns Political Meeting

LD0111195890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Skopje, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—In connection with the holding of a republican-like meeting of truth on 4 November in Gostivar against the Albanization and Kosovization of Western Macedonia, the executive committee of the Presidium of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [Partija za Demokratski Prosperitet] today made public its protest.

This party, whose members are primarily Albanians, considers that such meetings and demonstrations are against unity and that they are punishable according to our criminal code. The statement stresses that the organization of such a meeting gives rise to anger at a time when in Yugoslavia and Macedonia maximum efforts are being made to promote national reconciliation and the creation of conditions for coexistence.

Bosnian Muslim Party Assails Markovic Visits

LD0111194290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The Muslim Boshniak Organization [Muslimanska Bosnjacka Organizacija—MBO] today sharply reacted to the presence of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic at numerous meetings of the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia [Savez Reformskih Snaga Jugoslavije—SRSJ]. While the country is falling apart, MBO Vice Chairman Muhamed Filipovic says the president of the federal government is, like a salesman, promoting the party ides of the Reformists at political meetings.

Muhamed Filipovic also said that 800,000 posters of Ante Markovic have been printed for the Reformists at a cost of some 1.5 million Deutsche mark. Who is financing the SRSJ, or where is this party's money coming from when it does not, at least officially, have a permanent source of financing, Filipovic asked.

Bosnian Parties Form Election Coalition

LD0111222990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 1 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Zenica, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The 5,000-strong Party of Yugoslavs in Zenica has decided to form a coalition with the League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change and the Democratic Socialist Party to contest the forthcoming elections to the republican Assembly in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Bosko Kukolj, chairman of the Party of Yugoslavs, said this at a press conference in Zenica today. [passage omitted]